

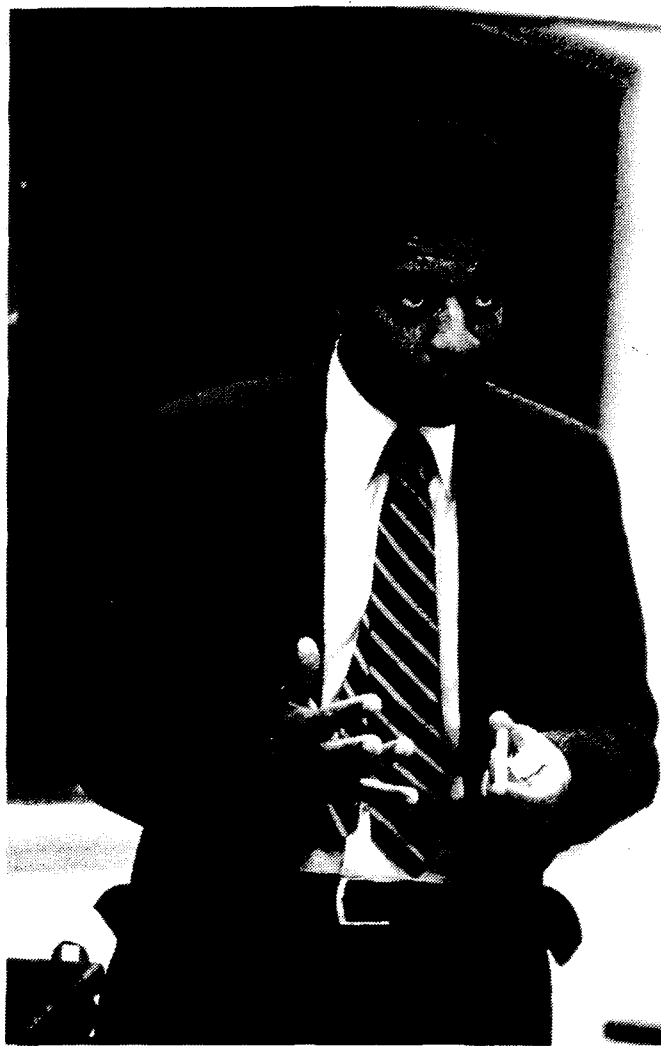
FALLING THROUGH THE SAFETY NET

THE HOMELESS

MENTALLY ILL

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JOAN WALSH REPORTS



Norman Hill, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Education Fund.

AFL-CIO angers South Africans

By Steve Askin and Barbara Yuill

WASHINGTON

Top black South African unionists arrived in Washington suspicious and left angry when the AFL-CIO brought them here for a January 10-12 conference on labor and social change in South Africa. These were, for the most part, leaders who want to work with American unions and have good relations with some of the more left AFL-CIO affiliates.

Their complaints underscored the AFL-CIO's internal divisions on South Africa, which parallel labor's better-known left-right split on Central America. Some American unionists want to end all U.S. economic links to South Africa. Others, including the AFL-CIO leadership, favor selective economic pressure but don't rule out "responsible" investing by some American firms. Punctuated by enthusiastic bursts of "Nkosi Sikelele Africa" and other freedom songs, the conference was friendly on the surface but seethed with hidden tension.

Some of the 10 South African leaders charged privately that the AFL-CIO's African-American Labor Center (AALC) wants to control their unions and undercut some of the most effective groups in the anti-apartheid movement in the U.S. In particular, AALC has hindered a drive for South African black labor unity by offering money to member unions without going through the federations, one leader charged in an interview. AALC, the AFL-CIO's Africa outreach arm, receives about 90 percent of its budget from the U.S. State Department.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's keynote address anticipated and rejected the complaints. In South Africa, as in "Poland, El Salvador and every other country where our help has been requested," the AFL-CIO "will respond to the expressed needs and wishes of our brothers and sisters who are under the gun," he said. He insisted that "we do not pretend to understand their situation better than they do. We do not want to define their objectives for them—only to help them carry out their own objectives."

The South Africans, circumspect in public and torn between conflicting goals, sometimes expressed their displeasure to the 200 conference participants, most of them mid- and upper-level union executives.

A Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) official warned against "trade union imperialism." John Gomomo, vice president of a FOSATU-affiliated auto workers union, declared that American unionists must not come to South Africa without a labor movement invitation lest they be "used by the South African government to gain credibility for its actions." Gomomo was apparently referring to such visitors as a 1982 AFL-CIO delegation whose members were spurned as suspected CIA agents by many black union leaders.

In an interview after the conference, AALC Executive Director Patrick O'Farrell responded to the CIA charge before the question was asked: "This agency has no connection with the CIA. I don't have anything to do with the CIA. To the best of my knowledge, the [CIA] allegations about [AFL-CIA International Affairs Director] Irving Brown are not true." The AALC favors labor unity in South Africa and elsewhere, he said, but will not inform one union about contributions made to another and does not believe that its aid policies interfere with unity talks.

In 1967, however, journalist and former CIA official Thomas Braden wrote in the *Saturday Evening Post* that Brown had taken CIA funds: "It was my idea to give the \$15,000 to Irving Brown...to pay off his strong-arm squads in the Mediterranean ports, so that American

supplies could be unloaded against the opposition of dock workers."

American union officials said the differences are behind them and insisted that they are forging warm ties with South African black labor. The two union movements are "building a bridge based on the needs and priorities of South African trade unionists," claimed Norman Hill, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Education Fund, the AFL-CIO's domestic black outreach group and a conference co-sponsor.

On the surface, Hill seemed to be right. Occasional criticisms were coupled with frequent if vague expressions of gratitude for American support. A South African food and beverage workers leader praised the meeting as "very impressive, educative and an eye-opener." But he reserved warmest praise for "all those who took part in the demonstrations outside the South African Embassy"—civil disobedience protests led by Randall Robinson of the black foreign policy lobby group TransAfrica.

But TransAfrica's leaders, who seek an end to all U.S. economic ties with South Africa, were offered no role in the conference, while "responsible investing" advocates were featured prominently. We have "no illusion that they aim to some extent to take away from the initiative that Randall Robinson started," said one South African participant.

Though its leaders have joined TransAfrica's protests, the AFL-CIO wants to "control anti-apartheid activists, undercut divestiture and keep U.S. unionists in line on other issues like support for liberation movements," agreed a prominent American union official who asked not to be identified. "Part of the problem seems to be a lack of sensitivity in the AFL-CIO to the black trade unions," said TransAfrica legislative liaison David Scott.

TransAfrica's absence was made doubly irksome for South Africans by the appearance of the Rev. Leon Sullivan, a General Motors board member and author of a set of guidelines for "responsible" investing in South Africa. Annoyance was compounded when Sal Marzullo, identified only as head of the "Sullivan Industry Support Unit," also spoke. In fact, as some of the South Africans knew, Marzullo is a Mobil Oil official who spearheads lobbying by Sullivan signatory firms against restrictions on investment of public funds in firms that do business in South Africa. Marzullo said that American companies are training South African blacks for top jobs, providing equal pay for equal work, and taking the lead in recognizing unions.

"They can integrate toilet facilities, training facilities, have equal pay, but it is useless," Gomomo responded, "when we clock out at four and we go back to all those apartheid laws."

South African law subjects disinvestment backers to a minimum five-year jail term, and Gomomo would not publicly state his views on disinvestment. But he urged support for "all kinds of action to pressure the South African government." Earlier, CUSA General Secretary Phiroshaw Camay said he favors a ban on new investments, and selective divestment campaigns against businesses that aid apartheid by producing strategic goods or operating in South Africa's so-called black "homelands."

"That they would want to even discuss the Sullivan Principles was shocking," a South African unionist said in an interview later. "Imagine how furious they would be if we tried to sell them on management's principles for running the U.S."

O'Farrell said, "Anything that brings pressure on South Africa is useful," including Sullivan's work. He said the AFL-CIO certainly does not oppose more militant anti-apartheid action and noted that AFL-CIO leaders have been arrested in the embassy protests. The feder-

THE STORY INSIDER

ation supports a ban on new investments in South Africa, but not total disinvestment, he said.

The South Africans also displayed a fine-tuned sense of American labor movement politics. One South African leader criticized the Randolph Fund as a tool of the AFL-CIO but lauded "solidarity-building" efforts by the more independent Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. While criticizing the AFL-CIO, he praised the more militant anti-apartheid stance of the New York Labor Committee Against Apartheid.

Despite their misgivings about the AFL-CIO, South Africans say some member unions are valuable allies, providing help—technical advisors on safety and health—or political support for strikes against U.S.-based multinationals—when asked to do so.

On dealings with the AFL-CIO and its African arm, the South Africans were of several minds. Most want to remain on good terms with the AFL-CIO, in part so they can convince American unions to put their political clout behind South Africa sanctions bills in Congress. Some will not consider taking AALC help, fearing it will be used to make them dependent on American aid and reshape them in an American image. Others, worried that money refused by them may be used to bankroll other, more conservative labor groups, will take money if it comes with no strings attached.

After the conference, South Africans told AALC leaders they should mount no South Africa aid programs without the "full knowledge and support" of the country's two main black labor federations. AALC officials responded inconclusively. South Africans—those who don't reject AALC help entirely—said they will press the issue, and will refuse to work with the agency unless it follows their lead on programs in South Africa.

Steve Askin writes for the *National Catholic Reporter*. Barbara Yuill is a Washington-based freelance writer.



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By Joan Walsh

THERE EXISTS NO BETTER SYMBOL for the crisis of the homeless mentally ill than New York City's Keener Shelter, a bus ride away from Manhattan on Ward Island. Up to 800 men find a bed there nightly and, like the rest of the nation's urban homeless population, more than half probably suffer some form of severe mental illness.

Keener's distinction is that among the homeless it now shelters are men who used to reside there permanently. It was once part of a state psychiatric hospital, back before the process known as deinstitutionalization began emptying such facilities, sending hundreds of thousands of mentally ill patients back into the community. Many who didn't make the transition now live on the streets by day and in shelters like Keener at night.

Keener isn't alone. New York's Creedmoor shelter was also once part of a mental institution. In Galesburg, Ill., an emptying state hospital may soon be converted into a prison. Those ironies underline what has come to be recognized as deinstitutionalization's most glaring failure. While its emphasis on community-based care has succeeded for the vast majority of the nation's mentally ill, a small but significant percentage of former psychiatric patients, along with large numbers of the chronically mentally ill, have fallen through the cracks of the country's mental health system.

Today they're the most visible—and arguably the most desperate—of the nation's growing homeless population. And as the vacuum in mental health care for the poor persists, emergency shelters like Keener have come to fill at least the warehouse functions of the old state mental hospitals, but without even the pretense of treatment.

As emergency shelters and other services for the homeless have proliferated, so too have recent studies of their clientele. The preliminary results are chilling. Nationally, an estimated 25 to 33 percent of shelter users have been psychiatrically hospitalized at least once. In large cities, more than half the homeless are estimated to suffer some form of severe mental illness.

Other findings include:

- In Philadelphia, of 179 shelter users given psychiatric examinations, 40 percent were found to have major mental disorders.

- In Washington, D.C.'s House of Ruth shelter for women, 48 percent of the residents needed psychiatric treatment.

- Community Service Society studies of New York's homeless in 1981 and 1982 indicated as many as half had serious psychiatric disorders.

- In San Francisco, a study of 103 homeless people found that 57 "could recall" at least two visits to psychiatric hospitals or mental health facilities.

- In Phoenix, two studies of homeless food-line patrons found that 30 percent had at one time lived in mental institutions.

- In Boston, a study of Shattuck Shelter by Harvard Medical School professor Ellen Bassuk found that 40 percent suffered from psychotic mental illness, and 33 percent had a history of psychiatric hospitalization. Bassuk has termed the shelters "open asylums," substitutes for the mental hospitals of old.

These studies and others have led to a dramatic increase in public and professional concern about the casualties of the nation's experiment with deinstitutionalization. They're forcing a reassessment of that process—its implementation, if not its reformist goals.

Easily the most influential set of recommendations on the homeless mentally ill came from an American Psychiatric Association (APA) task force report released last fall. Concluding that "a substantial portion of the homeless are chronically and severely mentally ill men and women who in years past would have been long-term residents of state hospitals," the report recommends a network of services

ranging from innovative community housing and health-care programs to, for the most disturbed, more permissive involuntary treatment and commitment laws and even, for a very few, long-term asylum.

Others have gone farther in labeling deinstitutionalization a failure. The Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, an independent study association, finds "little evidence that better alternatives [to institutionalization] in the community will

country in the mid-19th century. Both were well-intentioned reforms, backed by social and medical research; that were co-opted and undermined by political and medical establishments looking for the most efficient—read cheapest—form of treatment.

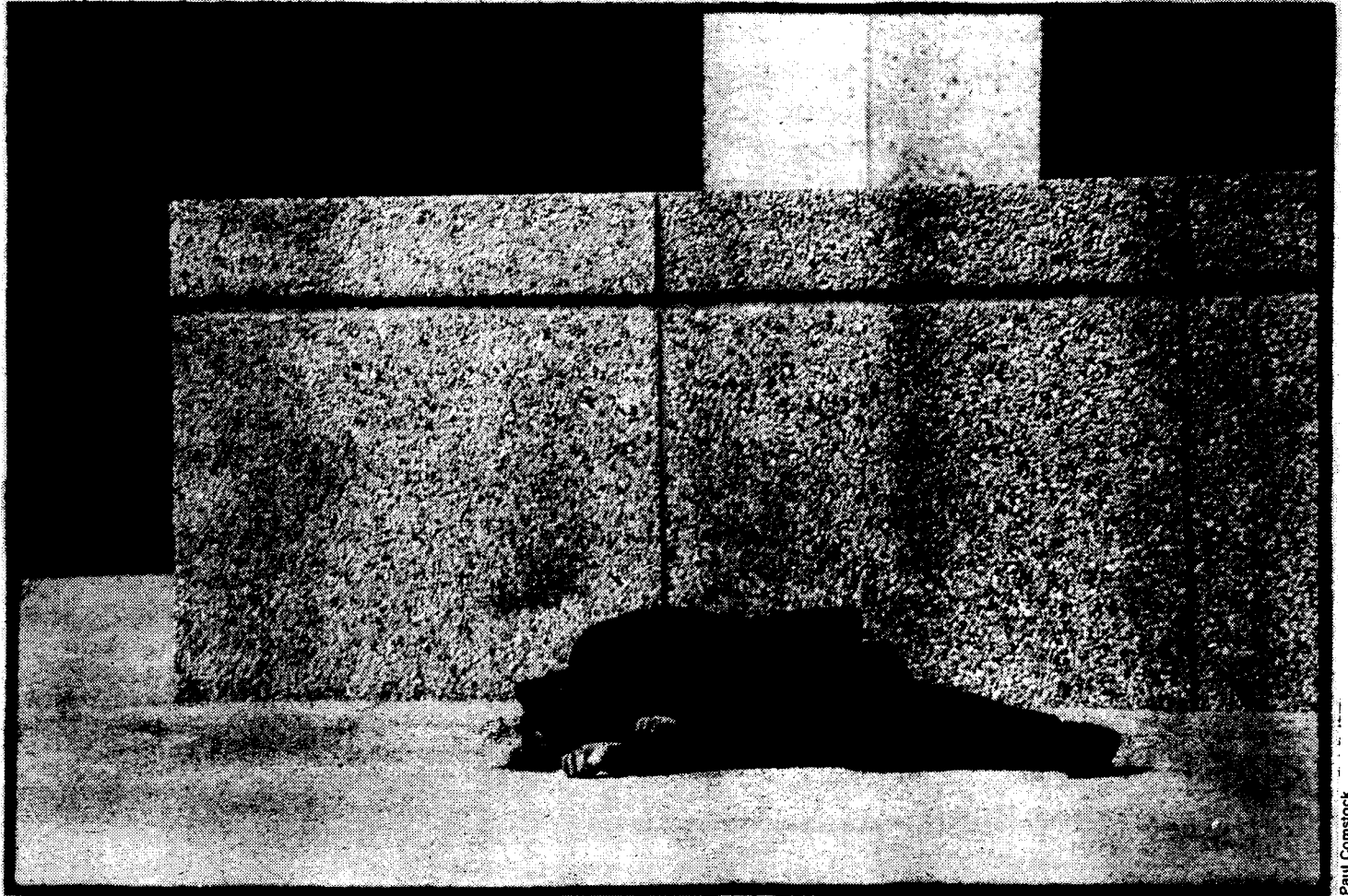
Hospitals to warehouses.

In the 1840s Dorothea Dix and other American mental health advocates saw European theories of "moral treatment"

125,000. Of that group, 65 percent were released into family care and another sizeable portion found a place in nursing homes or other group living arrangements and got psychiatric care privately or at CMHCs.

But by the late '70s, the small but troublesome percentage of patients who had slipped through the community mental health safety net became evident. They were showing up on the streets, in public transit stations, in emergency psychiatric centers, in prisons. A new subgroup became apparent—the young adult chronic patient. They're baby-boomers, the Yuppies' cracked mirror image, many of them schizophrenic, most of them drug or alcohol abusers, who had lived on the margins of the counterculture or the mental health system until one or the other gave way.

Are city shelters now open asylums?



More than half the urban homeless population suffer from some form of severe mental illness. Many of these are regular occupants of shelters at night.

ever become a reality." A widely publicized Bellevue Hospital report concluded that the experiment has produced "an asylum without walls"—a dangerous network of bus stations, public libraries and emergency shelters taking the place of the old state hospitals.

The argument is starting to percolate into public debate. The *New Republic's* Charles Krauthammer weighed in with a *Washington Post* opinion piece in early January, titled "For the Homeless: Asylum," which argued for a return to the concepts of long-term custodial care for those unable to help themselves.

Anyone familiar with the history of mental health reform in this country can see it: the pendulum is starting to swing. The noble experiment with deinstitutionalization and community-based care is being pronounced a failure, so a new initiative is in order. But there is a strong case to be made—and many are starting to

The mental health crisis has reached a desperate stage. The failure to deal with it is a scandal.

make it—that deinstitutionalization was never really attempted. The network of local, decentralized mental health services it took for granted never was established, and its most basic precondition—affordable housing—has disappeared.

In fact, deinstitutionalization has a lot in common with the movement that led to institutionalizing the mentally ill in this

and mental asylum as providing a humane alternative to the poorhouse or prison for the "indigent insane." But the rise of state hospitals gave local officials the opportunity to pass off the senile, the aged and many who needed some form of lifelong care to those larger institutions, which were increasingly under funded.

The hospitals turned into warehouses. Custodial functions took priority over psychiatric treatment. From 1903 to 1950, the state hospital population grew 240 percent, from 150,000 to 512,000, creating the desperate conditions that have been etched in popular culture by Mary Jane Ward's *Snake Pit* and even Ken Kesey's *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*.

In the late '50s, advances in community psychiatry as well as psychotropic pharmacy led to a push to empty the state hospitals and provide care in the community. President John F. Kennedy's "bold new approach" to mental health took the form of the 1963 Community Mental Health Centers (CMHC) Act, which funded the construction of new facilities around the country. The initiative was motivated by the same concerns as the federal-level approach to civil rights—that Washington had to set certain national standards of treatment to protect citizens in less-enlightened states.

But in the effort to sidestep the states and the state hospitals, the federal approach was poorly coordinated. CMHCs were established with little attention to how many patients were being let out of which hospitals and what kind of care they needed. Nonetheless, deinstitutionalization continued apace. Between 1955 and 1981 the state and county mental hospital population dropped from 559,000 to

At the same time, the structural flaws of the CMHC network were becoming apparent. The federal government had provided only seed money. The centers were to become self-sustaining by a combination of fees, private insurance and Medicaid/Medicare, but it hadn't worked that way. Other mental health facilities were learning that they could rarely get Medicaid for indigent patients, and balked at housing or treating them.

The chaos led local mental health professionals, the National Institute of Mental Health and finally Congress to return to the roots of deinstitutionalization and recognize the need for a national network of ongoing care for the mentally ill, provided in layers of services and backed by federal funds. In 1980 Congress passed the Mental Health Systems Act, to revamp the CMHC network and provide community support programs for local mental health providers. But the Act was repealed with Reagan's 1981 budget, which lumped funding for all alcohol, drug and mental illness programs into block grants, and then cut the package by 25 percent.

Crisis to scandal.

Everyone agrees that the Reagan years have marked a dramatic change in the fortunes of mentally ill poor. A crisis turned into a scandal. Budget cuts, Medicaid caps and NIMH reductions weakened the already troubled CMHC network. The purge of Social Security disability rolls that began in 1981 singled out the mentally disabled. More than half the estimated 470,000 people whose benefits were terminated suffered from mental illness.

Continued on page 22

IN SHORT

INS clean-up

When churches began harboring undocumented Central Americans a few years back, Duke Austin of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) feigned disinterest, saying that it was a "drop in the bucket" compared to the number of refugees in the U.S. without church protection. Last week, the INS took drastic actions to mop up the movement when it arrested 65 Central Americans in churches across the U.S. and indicted 16 sanctuary workers in Arizona for "transporting refugees" and "conspiracy to transport refugees." The U.S. citizens arrested in Arizona include the two originators of the movement—Jim Corbett and John Fife of the Southside United Presbyterian Church—and 14 others who work to keep the U.S.-Mexican border open to fleeing refugees. Though it's too early to tell how this attempt to seal the southern border will affect the rest of the sanctuary movement, the Chicago Religious Task Force reports that churches called them after the indictments and asked to receive more refugees.

Berkeley's quick moves

It's been less than three months since the Berkeley Citizens Action slate won a handy 8-1 majority in the city council elections, and those 10 weeks have been a whirlwind of good legislation, reports Mike Berkowitz. Some of the newly-passed legislation hadn't even been proposed in the earlier city councils: including rescuing the city's recycling program for community based organizations, binding arbitration for city workers and requiring a full year's notice before permitting eviction of seniors, disabled or families with small children or low incomes. Other laws now victorious had a history of battles behind them: notably the ordinance that makes Berkeley the first city in the country with domestic partner legislation that guarantees health care and other benefits to "live-in lovers," both gay and straight.

The city council's decisions haven't all been tied to the homefront. Mayor Gus Newport, representing the city, was the only American official at the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations that met in Havana. There's also been talk of setting up city commissions on Peace and Foreign Policy to bring light to those issues that are generally thought of as outside a city council's purview. And the council has already passed a resolution opposing the home-porting of the nuclear armed battleship *Missouri* in San Francisco Bay, and is scheduled to soon decide if Berkeley will become the first "sanctuary city" for refugees from Central America.

Lone Star justice

The capricious character of the death penalty was starkly evident in Texas last week as Doyle Skillern was executed for being an accomplice in the killing of an undercover narcotics agent while the convicted killer received life imprisonment and the possibility of parole in July. Prior to the 1974 killing, Skillern had been recently released from prison for killing his brother, says his lawyer Shannon Salyer, and it was this past record that swayed the court to return the death penalty. Salyer says that most Texans weren't too keen on the verdict: "It just didn't sound fair. People here think they both should've gotten life or they both should've gotten death—but they were angry about the uneven sentences." The Texas American Civil Liberties Union begged Gov. Mark White for a reprieve, but White refused and Skillern became the fifth man executed in Texas in the last two years.

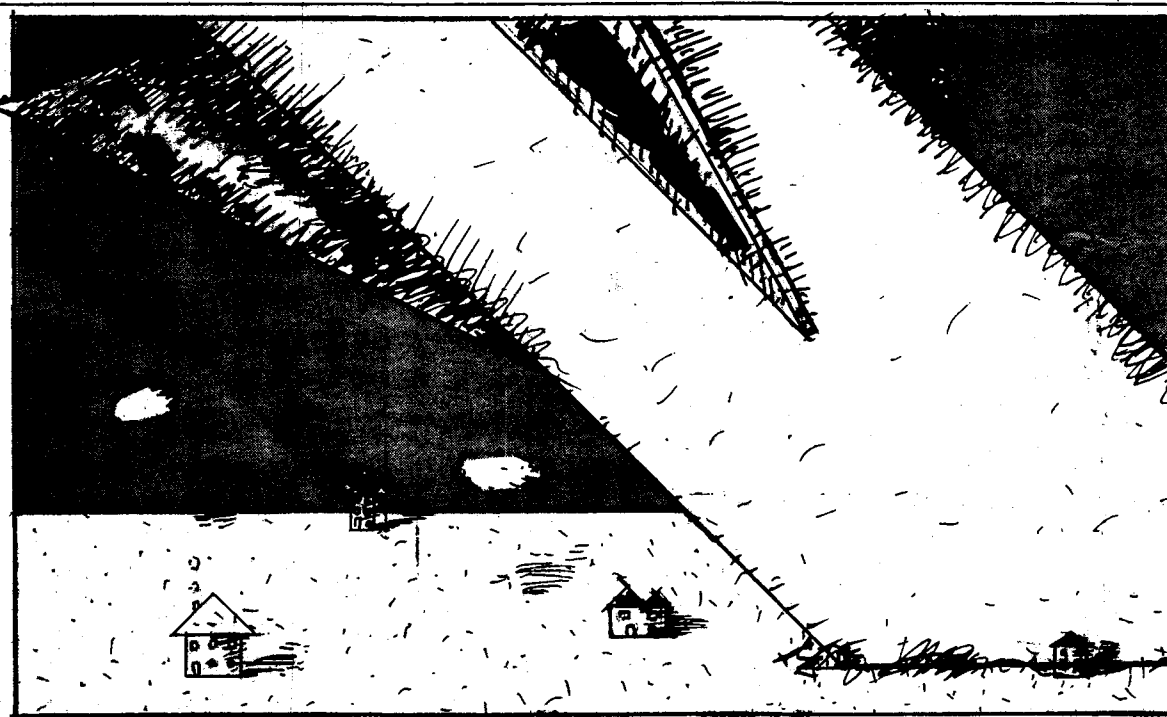
Small c "catholic"

The first draft of the Catholic bishops pastoral on the economy is getting a working over by hundreds of individuals and groups across the country before suggestions and criticisms are due back in the bishops' hands by March 1. One public hearing in Chicago last week attracted 40 testifiers who marched to the rostrum attempting to gain the pastoral committee's ear and tell the bishops what's wrong with their view of the American economy. Many felt the bishops were too timid in their prescriptions for the ailing economy. They offered proposals for enlisting the unemployed to work on the nation's infrastructure with the help of higher corporate taxes and a reduced military budget, calls for the church to encourage greater access to corporate decision-making and a warning that the bishops may have naively bought a "high-tech solution" to the ongoing job morass.

Others thought the pastoral went too far and were horrified at the specter of "public planning" that it suggested. Businessman John Holberg decried what he called the "coercion of greater taxes" proposed by the bishops and said that they "now have two strikes against them: first, they called for a nuclear freeze and now they endorse the Great Society." One particularly strident woman, who later identified herself to ITT as an unmarried elementary school teacher, claimed to have found the real culprit in the slumping economy: "family planning through contraception, abortion and sterilization that has ruined the diaper, baby food and toys industries." She also pinned the feminization of poverty on a women's movement that "conned women to go into the workforce," the sexual revolution and easy divorce laws.

—Beth Maschinot

Readers are encouraged to send news clips, interesting reports, eye-opening memos or short articles to "In Short," c/o In These Times, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. Please include your address and telephone number.



Permit nixed for Lockheed

SANTA CRUZ, CA—On January 8, the Santa Cruz Board of Supervisors voted to prohibit the expansion of a facility where nuclear weapons parts are built. In a three-two vote, the Supervisors denied Lockheed Missiles and Space Company's request for a permit for a three-quarter-acre building to manufacture parts for the Trident II nuclear weapons system.

Opponents of Lockheed raised a number of technical, land-use and planning issues in addition to the broader concerns about the role that Lockheed's production of parts for the Trident plays in the nuclear arms race. They succeeded in blocking Lockheed's effort to expand its work on Trident II at the remote site in the mountains 16 miles from Santa Cruz city.

Since the '50s Lockheed has had a testing and manufacturing facility in Santa Cruz, a small, coastal county 75 miles south of San Francisco. In the late '70s, the county required Lockheed to submit a master development plan for a permit to expand their facility. One of the proposed buildings was a "D-5 Manufacturing Building," where a small but essential non-nuclear explosive part for the Trident II would be produced. Lockheed publicly describes the part, used to separate stages of rockets and open the nose cone of the Trident missile, as an "energy transfer device."

In 1978, People for a Nuclear Free Future, a local anti-nuclear group and co-founder of the Abalone Alliance, spearheaded opposition to the granting of the permit.

More than 4,500 local residents packed four public hearings before

the County Planning Commission and later the Board of Supervisors from November 1978 to February 1979. The vast majority of the speakers opposed granting the permit. But the Planning Commission went on to vote four-one in favor of granting the Lockheed expansion and the Supervisors finally voted three-two to approve the permit.

People for a Nuclear Free Future responded by placing an initiative to ban the production, testing, transportation or use of nuclear weapons within the county limits on the June 1980 ballot. Lockheed spent \$300,000—about \$4.25 per voter—by far the largest amount spent on an election in this county of 200,000 people. During their campaign against the Initia-



tive for Alternatives to Nuclear Weapons Production, Lockheed threatened to close the plant, which at the time was the largest manufacturing facility in the county. The measure passed within the Santa Cruz city limits, but was crushed 63-37 percent countywide.

Lockheed seemed to have won. But the balance changed in late 1984. The local Sierra Club discovered that Lockheed had applied for a grading permit for the D-5 building, which required a public

hearing and vote by the Planning Commission. The grading would require removal of 14,600 cubic yards of soil and destruction of 1-13 trees.

As most other places, the issuance of a grading permit for a previously granted use permit in Santa Cruz is basically a rubber-stamp operation. The Resource Center for Nonviolence hastily formed an ad hoc group, Citizens for Industrial Accountability, to challenge the permit on the basis that the land would be used to increase the U.S.' first-strike capability.

Lockheed's attorney tried to present the issue as "the application for a grading permit, nothing more, nothing less." But speaker after speaker in the November 1984 meeting spoke of the particularly destabilizing nature of the first-strike Trident II and the responsibility of local citizens to not leave these issues "to Washington" where Lockheed insisted they belong.

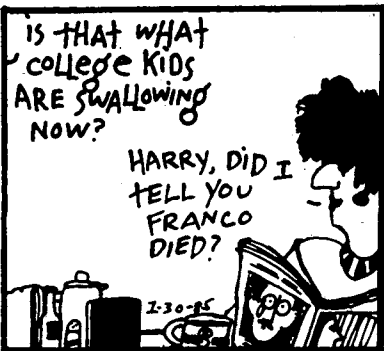
Finally, Commissioner Chuck Barr, appointed by the most conservative member of the Board of Supervisors, told the audience he didn't think the destruction of the trees was the most important issue. In a startling about-face he declared that he would put "whatever roadblock we can put in front of the manufacturing of these weapons at Lockheed." The Commission then voted three-two to deny the permit.

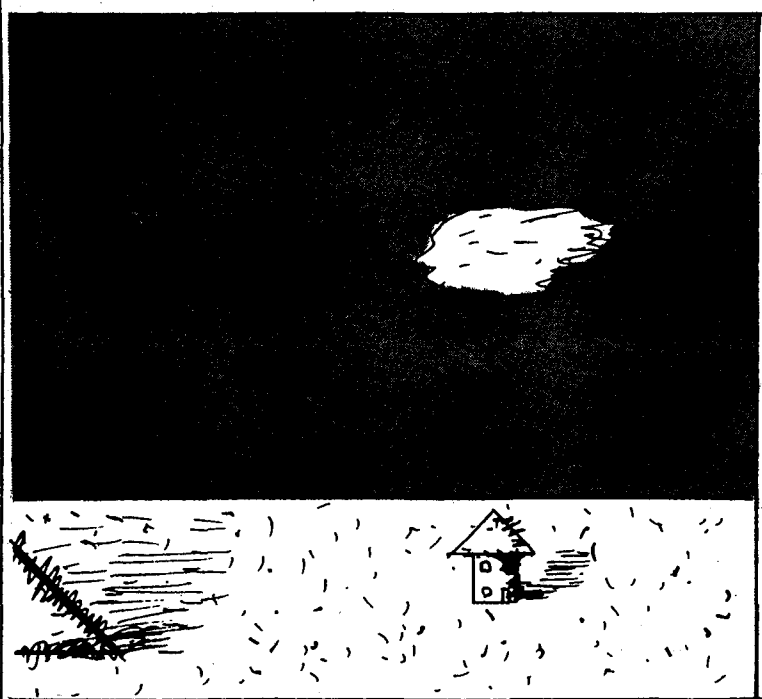
Lockheed vows to fight the Santa Cruz Board of Supervisors' action. The company's officials have said they will do the work in existing buildings if necessary, or perhaps sue the county. Lockheed manager Vern Smith, a former mayor of Santa Cruz, was quoted in the local press as saying, "We'll make the parts up here—it's just a matter of how."

—Steve Belling and Scott Kennedy

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander





Peter Hannan

Canada fights waste burial

LAC DU BONNET, MANITOBA—Since the late '70s the Atomic Energy of Canada Limited (AECL) has been quietly investigating several northern Ontario and Manitoba sites for suitability as deep underground storage areas for nuclear waste. The quiet has been deliberate. In at least three Ontario communities—Sudbury, Kenora and Massey—AECL has been forced to abandon test drilling after powerful local opposition developed.

At the latest site to be abandoned, East Bull Lake near Massey, both a town council vote and a citizen referendum showed an 80 percent opposition to AECL's plans. A local AECL office had to be closed down because of harassment of employees. People also blocked access to the drill site, forcing AECL to go to some lengths to continue their program. Eventually, the company gave up and closed down operations.

Now only two possible areas remain. Tests have been in progress at Atikokin, Ontario, since 1979. Local opposition has yet to develop in this town. Research also continues at the Whiteshell Research Establishment in Pinawa, Manitoba. Here, despite the best efforts of the government, opposition has begun to develop.

Plans for waste entombment at Pinawa were first developed in the late '70s, but the public learned of these developments only after the former provincial Conservative government of Stirling Lyons had already granted land lease for AECL's purposes. Despite three years of efforts on the part of the Lac Du Bonnet Citizens' Group, all levels of government refused to hold public hearings on the plans.

AECL's rationale for refusing to hold hearings was that this multi-million-dollar linchpin of their program was "too small a project to warrant hearings." They also said that they weren't responsible for conducting public hearings and then steadfastly avoided advising the appropriate federal minister. Both Conservative and New Democratic Party provincial governments also refused to hold hearings, though the latter did initiate a minor monitoring program. Similarly, the province has blocked requests for an area referendum

on the project.

Thus the first stage—a waste storage test station—of what AECL hopes will be a multi-stage project is now in place in Pinawa. Residents fear that this will mushroom into the major alternative to a Chinese site being mentioned, despite assurance to the contrary on the part of AECL. But Walter Robbins of the Lac Du Bonnet Citizens' Group says, "Assurances given today by a bureaucrat or politician are irrelevant because they can't give assurances for policy 15 years later."

There are many forces pushing for an escalation of the Pinawa site. Two U.S. agencies—the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the Office of Nuclear Waste Information—helped develop the site. Given the present difficulties the U.S. is having with waste storage, there is a fair possibility that American waste will be shipped to Pinawa. Recently, James Donnelly, president of the AECL, was publicly reprimanded by the former federal environment minister for suggesting that U.S. money would likely be available for waste disposal. The money was welcome. The publicity, however, found less favor.

Other AECL officials have pushed more openly for a Canadian solution to other countries' disposal problems. Bruce Goodwin, head of the mass transportation section of the Environment and Safety Assessment Branch at Pinawa, proposed late last winter that both American and European waste would be more than welcome. He says he has "used four computers to test the safety of the granite chamber dumps system mathematically" and found no cause for alarm.

Claus Newman, a reporter for the Manitoba German language press, also believes that Goodman's dream isn't a groundless hope. He has spoken with European nuclear industry officials who are now considering Pinawa as an alternative burial ground for their wastes in case the Gobi Desert plan is stalled.

Meanwhile, the Lac du Bonnet Citizens' Group in the area of Pinawa is organizing to prevent an escalation from a research station to a full-fledged intercontinental dump site. For information, contact them at: Box 1234, Lac Du Bonnet, Manitoba ROE 1A0, Canada.

—Pat Murtagh

Briefing: Peace out of grasp of Misurasatas and Sandinistas

The unofficial truce that existed during the last few months of 1984 between the Sandinista military and an Indian rebel group was fractured in the first week of January when Nicaraguan military forces hit hard the pockets of resistance near coastal Indian villages. Clashes between Misurasata guerrillas—an organization which worked with the Sandinistas until 1981 but now opposes their Indian policies—and the Sandinista army had been infrequent and light during the fall to foster the Sandinista-Indian peace process.

After the second round of peace talks concluded in Bogota, Colombia, Misurasata leader Brooklyn Rivera clandestinely traveled deep into Nicaragua in late December to speak with his people about the recent peace initiative. Steve Tullberg, a Washington lawyer who accompanied Rivera to the peace talks, said the trip, which included more than a dozen villages, was not a military foray but one of "constituency" work. After a week of "celebrations" in the villages along the Atlantic coast, the Sandinista air force began what Tullberg said was the heaviest bombing the region has experienced in the three-year-old battle between the Sandinistas and the Misurasatas.

There are unconfirmed reports of five civilian deaths caused by the bombing that began January 2 and is continuing as *In These Times* goes to press.

A Nicaraguan embassy spokesman in Washington confirmed that the Sandinista army and air force is presently engaged in combat near central coastal villages. When asked to elaborate he said, "The Sandinistas are repelling counter-revolutionary attacks. We have asked Misurasatas for a ceasefire and they have refused."

The spokesman did not say if these recent events mark a shift by the Sandinistas in their dealings with Indian resistance forces. In his inaugural speech, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega offered a new amnesty to *contras* willing to lay down their guns. Those who refused would face "definitive defeat," Ortega said.

Nor is it known if the bombing raids will scuttle the third round of talks between Misurasata and the Nicaraguan government slated for January 19 and 20. The self-exiled Rivera received leg wounds and internal injuries during his escape back to Costa Rica. Although he remains silent on the upcoming meetings, sources who spoke to Rivera said the "talks appear to be contingent on the cessation of the bombing." During a November interview Rivera claimed that his warriors—said to number about 1,500—"asked me to look for peace," but "they will continue to fight any threat to our people."

It will not be easy for the Misurasata to negotiate a separate peace. The peace initiative has met with stiff opposition by the ex-Somocista *contras* and

their Miskito ally, Steadman Fagoth, a leader of the exiled Indian group Misuru based in Honduras. Misuru's aim is the overthrow of the Sandinista government. Rivera's group seeks an autonomous status within Nicaragua similar to that enjoyed by the Cuna Sun Blas Indians of Panama.

A peace accord between the Sandinistas and Misurasata has been creeping forward since late last summer when a private meeting arranged by Sen. Edward Kennedy led to Rivera's first official legal Nicaraguan visit in three years. Accompanied by Misurasata aides and international observers, the delegation met twice with high-ranking government officials in Managua. They then embarked on a 10-day barn-storming tour of Indian villages and relocation camps on the Atlantic coast where the exiled leaders were welcomed "with almost absolute support," said Tullberg. The trip ended with the first prisoner exchange between the Sandinistas and an armed opposition group.

The second round of discussions held at the presidential palace in Colombia did not have such a dramatic outcome. However, six governments—Canada, Holland, France, Mexico, Colombia and Sweden—have agreed to observer status for future meetings. The dialog centered around the sticky question of autonomy for the 170,000 Indians who make up a slim majority on the Atlantic coast.

In exchange for a cease-fire Misurasata is seeking a mutually-agreeable level of autonomy. With more than one-third of the indigenous population displaced due to the fighting, Rivera is aiming for a "reunification of Indian families."

The Nicaraguan governmental

delegation in Bogota was headed by Assistant Interior Minister Luis Carrion and included members of Misatan, the Indian organization formed this past summer to work with the Sandinistas. Although the two sides agreed to disagree on the autonomy issue, "good feelings" were evident during the signing of a joint communique, observers said.

A few days before the December conference President-elect Ortega formed a commission to study the autonomy issue and draft a statute. Once this is accomplished, the Nicaraguan general assembly will presumably be asked to pass it into law.

Rivera has rejected this plan, saying any permanent solution between the Indians and Sandinistas will be based on recognition of Indian rights and on mutual agreements rather than law emanating from Managua.

In Bogota, Misurasata presented the Sandinista delegation with their own proposal. The 12-point proposal includes formal recognition of Indian rights to land and self-determination, specific steps to redress wrongs in Indian communities, demilitarization of Indian villages and the creation of a tri-partite oversight commission which would have among its members delegates from observer countries.

During the meetings in Colombia, the Sandinistas did not use the words "indigenous peoples" or "nations" referring to the Atlantic coast Indians. Instead the delegation's language centered on cultural rights for ethnic minorities. "Ethnic groups run restaurants," Rivera replied. "We are a nation and demand that you deal with us as equals."

—Graham Clarke

©Indigenous Peoples Network



POLITICS

By Salim Muwakkil

EARLY IN 1980 LU PALMER ORGANIZED a group called Chicago Black United Communities (CBUC) to fight the appointment of Mayor Jane Byrne's nominee for the school board. Palmer, a former reporter-columnist for the defunct *Chicago Daily News* and a respected community organizer, thought the time had come to begin mounting serious black challenges to Chicago's white hegemony. Byrne's erratic actions and her flagrant appeals to racial politics had inflamed the black community's anger, and Palmer took the opportunity to harness and amplify that anger. Byrne's choice for the school board eventually withdrew his nomination and CBUC claimed victory.

Emboldened by its minor success, CBUC convened a city-wide "unity" conference in 1981, to which it invited black leaders representing a variety of often contentious groups. The purpose of this gathering was to develop unified action to maximize the black community's political clout. The conference participants unanimously ratified a CBUC plan to conduct a poll identifying the most respected political figure among Chicago's blacks. The winner of this poll, it was proposed, could then go on to present a serious challenge to Jane Byrne in the 1983 race for mayor. "We shall see in '83," was CBUC's rallying cry.

Harold Washington, then a freshman member of Congress from Illinois' First District, handily won that poll. After some heavy persuasion, Washington agreed to become the unified black community's candidate for mayor. Because of his solidly liberal voting record and his strong advocacy of reform politics, Washington also won the backing of various independent, predominately white political groups.

After an extremely, *rancorous*, racially-charged campaign (in which he first won the Democratic runoff election and then the main contest against Republican Bernard Epton), Washington won Byrne's seat. His election victory was greeted euphorically by Chicago's black community and was heralded as a giant step on the road to black political empowerment. Blacks across the country began looking at Chicago as a model.

But winning the election was only the beginning. The thousands of white Chicagoans who voted for Republican Epton (something formerly unheard of in traditionally Democratic Chicago) would not take his defeat sitting down. Their representatives, led by Alderman Edward Vrdolyak and Edward Burke—the "two Eddies"—took immediate charge of the City Council, using race as an organizing tool to marshal a majority in opposition to the mayor and his allies.

As Mayor Washington nears midterm, his is an embattled administration. He is stymied at virtually every turn by the council's majority bloc. More than 80 of his appointments have been held up in council committees, his budget proposals are summarily rejected and revised, programs devised to push the mayor's reform agenda are routinely buried, minor gaffes are exaggerated and trumpeted in a receptive media.

In addition to that, Washington has also been plagued by problems of his own (or his staff's) making. Disorganized, chronically tardy, lacking political sophistication, inefficient...are words used by friends and foes alike to describe the Washington administration. "This administration is a classic case of good intentions gone astray," assesses Don Rose, a widely respected political consultant and Washington supporter.

The problems caused by "Council Wars" (the generic name for the struggle between the integrated group of 21 aldermen who support the mayor and the 29 aldermen who relentlessly oppose him) and by the image of incompetence projected by the mayor's



Harold Washington greets his supporters during the rancorous 1983 campaign for mayor.

Embattled Chicago mayor retains most of his black support

team have seriously altered the image of Chicago as the "city that works." And in the view of most informed observers, it is this unsettling state of affairs that has accelerated a decline in the city's fortunes. Chicago's credit ratings have dipped, the city is losing business and jobs at a rate higher than that of most other large urban centers, and, according to the City Club of Chicago—a group of prominent business people—unless something is done soon the city's business climate may be forever clouded.

But Chicago's black community, by and large, will hear none of this. The unified support for Washington that was carefully cultivated by Lu Palmer's CBUC has remained remarkably tight. Most black Chicagoans interpret Council Wars as a last, desperate grab for power by a white power structure that refuses to read the writing on the wall. In their view, the "29" are intentionally sabotaging the city's image in order to project Chicago as a city deteriorating under a black mayor's rule. This, the argument goes, will enable the majority bloc more effectively to rally white voters to unite on a common strategy to elect a white in 1987. In effect, this tactic is taking a leaf out of CBUC's book.

Andrew Young, mayor of Atlanta, once predicted that "living up to the expectations of his black constituents" will be Mayor Washington's most thankless task. But because of the blatant malevolence demonstrated by his opposition, Washington has so far forestalled that clash between black expectations and political reality. Thanks to the tactics of the Vrdolyak-Burke clique, the "movement" that catapulted Washington into the mayor's seat continues unabated.

"The mayor enjoys a kind of cult-like support," claims Clarence Page, columnist and editorial board member of the *Chicago Tribune*. "Washington has become larger than life to many blacks, and if you criticize him it's almost like taking

Martin Luther King's name in vain."

Dr. Margaret Burroughs, founder and director of Chicago's DuSable Museum of African-American History, takes exception to the cult parallel, but sounds herself like a devotee when describing Washington's two-year reign.

"Our mayor is doing a tremendous job," she declares. "He's doing much better than any mayor before him, and none of those other mayors had to deal with these racist obstructionists. We've never had a more articulate or intelligent man sitting in the mayor's office. And he's a product of Chicago's public schools."

Washington's eloquence is a large source of pride among Chicago's blacks. He lambasts his opposition with language so vivid and hyperbolic that at times it verges on self-parody.

"Most blacks love it when the mayor gives his enemies a tongue-lashing," explains Troy Dinkens, a community organizer and political science instructor at the University of Illinois. "It's another reason he's so popular in black neighborhoods. They look at his verbal facility as beating the white man at his own game."

But Washington has used little of that eloquence to convince those in the Illinois State Legislature (his former haunt) to up their allocation of education funds that are desperately needed to help maintain the city's deteriorating school system.

"It's just amazing how little lobbying Harold has done in Springfield," notes Page of the *Tribune*. "Especially considering how successful and effective he was as a state legislator."

Although his administration has had more than its share of embarrassments—for example, Ald. Burke moved to have Washington impeached for failing to file his financial statement on time, he's failed to give sufficient support to some of his political allies and he made a fool of himself during the San Francisco Democratic Convention—Washington remains untarnished among his core constituency.

"Most of the stupid things that happen

to him are the result of his incompetent staff," contends Muhammad Idries, owner of a car wash and limousine service on Chicago's south side. "The mayor needs to broaden his range of advisors and surround himself with people who are knowledgeable about various things."

As far as much of the black community is concerned, the mayor's staff is the source of any problem he may be having: to them Washington is a tefflon mayor. But, according to Rose, that could soon change. "Eventually the responsibility has to begin falling on Washington's shoulders. He's going to have to begin taking the rap for any incompetent people he retains as aides."

One of Washington's aides agrees with Rose. "The mayor has a serious weakness in terms of loyalty," explains an aide who, like most blacks who have criticisms of the mayor, wishes to remain anonymous. "He places much too much emphasis on people he can trust, and he often chooses loyalty over competence."

This particular aide singled out four staff members as problematical: William Ware, the mayor's chief of staff; Sharon Gist Gilliam, the budget director; Grayson Mitchell, the mayor's press secretary; and Michael Holewinski, an administrative aide.

There's at least one black Chicagoan who is willing to level on-the-record criticisms of Mayor Washington and that's State Rep. Larry Bullock. An admitted friend of Washington's nemesis Edward Vrdolyak, Bullock recently won re-election to his legislative seat despite concerted opposition by the mayor's forces.

"There's a large contrast between the perception of the Washington administration and the substance," Bullock charges. "The perception is that he's doing something for blacks in this city, when, in fact, he hasn't delivered on any of his campaign promises. People who live in the CHA (the Chicago Housing Authority) are worse off now than they were when he took office. Unemployment is still as bad as it was in '83—even though the mayor's campaign cry was 'jobs, jobs and more jobs.' Public education is still in bad shape."

"And just look at the health situation," Bullock notes. "Infant mortality rates are still way up there. Where are those community health centers the mayor promised?"

Bullock clearly intends to keep reminding people of those alleged shortcomings. He's formed his own political group,

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By Collin Gribbons

TORONTO

THE CANADIAN UAW'S IMPENDING breakaway from the international union signals a major change in the labor movement here. One of the strongest unions in the private sector here, the UAW's Canadianization could herald the end of the dominance of international unions in the private sector of the Canadian economy.

The UAW split has grabbed the headlines, but the process of Canadianizing this country's labor movement has been going on for at least a decade. Battered by international forces, Canada's foreign-owned economy has gone through some wild ups and downs over the past 10 years. The recession of the early '80s hit Canada more severely than the U.S. Conversely, the growth that preceded the recession was faster than that of many other industrialized countries.

Canadians have a love/hate relationship with anything American. In good times, they tend to welcome American investment and the jobs it brings. But in bad times, American-owned manufacturing and resource corporations shut down their Canadian plants first.

Workers' attitudes to international unions seem to follow the swings. One union central, the Confederation of Canadian Unions (CCU), has based its existence on raiding members of internationals. The CCU has based its pitch on nationalism. It argues that it is impossible for Canadian trade unionists to win their struggles within an international union structure and that unionists should throw out their internationals and build new unions from scratch.

But the CCU's membership reached only 40,000 after years of struggle. Canadian workers didn't buy their message. As one said, "Nationalism never put a nickel in anyone's pocket."

On the other hand, the CCU, although small in numbers, had political influence on the federal Liberal Party, which governed the nation throughout the late '60s and '70s. The pressure it exerted forced many international unions to take notice.

The Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) adopted a code of Canadian unionism in the mid-'70s. To qualify for membership in the CLC, Canada's biggest labor central, unions had to meet certain conditions. Only Canadians could elect Canadian officers. The national policies of international unions in the country could only be set by Canadians. The Canadian section of the union would be affiliated separately to international union bodies, like the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

At the same time, several unions were breaking away or forming autonomous Canadian divisions. The 75,000-member Canadian Paperworkers Union was the biggest new union created by a breakaway. But others followed, including the Canadian section of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, which became the Energy and Chemical Workers in Canada. The trend continued into the early '80s.

Three years ago, the Canadian section of the United Steelworkers almost lost a key local at Cominco's Trail, British Columbia smelter to a CCU affiliate. If the Steelworkers had lost, observers predicted a bleak future for the union's Canadian section. But the Steelworkers held on to the local. And the CCU flubbed big opportunities to organize dissatisfied railway workers and coal miners on Canada's east coast.

At the same time, several international unions began to adopt new Canadian structures and identities. In the railways alone, one union split completely from its international, one set up an autonomous Canadian division, and another is negotiating separation.

The Steelworkers elected a Canadian as their international president and reaffirmed their international relationship at their October convention in Cleveland. It looked as though many internationals had learned to solve their internal problems amicably,



UNIONS

Canadian UAW breaks away from the International

through either autonomous or completely separate Canadian structures. Then came the UAW's negotiations with General Motors.

Right from the start, UAW Canadian Director Bob White said he wouldn't accept the American GM agreement as the basis for a settlement in Canada. Canadian auto workers face conditions different in some significant areas from their American counterparts. The combined advantage of Canada's cheaper dollar, the national health service and other social benefits give Canada a wage advantage of \$7.50 an hour over the U.S.

Having avoided most of the concessions the American union accepted two years earlier and with auto profits up dramatically, the Canadians wanted a return to normal bargaining: annual increases in the real wage to reflect increased productivity, full cost-of-living protection and more time off, to regain some of the paid personal holidays lost in the concessions era.

"I'm not being critical of what happened in the United States," White commented. "That agreement was put together based on American costs, and on the direction our union and GM chose to go in the U.S. We did not choose to go that route in Canada, and the costs are fundamentally different."

While their American counterparts narrowly ratified the GM agreement, Canadian

Auto Workers led a 13-day strike against GM, eventually winning most of their goals.

"When we went through General Motors bargaining," White said at a news conference, "there were some internal tensions in our union, but we dealt with those."

But White said after the union's talks at Ford of Canada were finished, "we will be sitting down as a union and reviewing the problems we had in collective bargaining, including the problems we had internally."

"I am not advocating the breakup of the international union," White told the reporters. "As a matter of fact, I would prefer to keep the international union intact. I do say, however, that there will of necessity in the future be some changes."

With the agreements at GM and Ford ratified overwhelmingly, White called for more Canadian autonomy at a meeting of the union's Canadian Council. Three hundred and fifty delegates gave White what the union called "a stirring, unanimous demonstration of support" for his recommendation to seek full autonomy for the UAW in Canada within the international union and, if that failed, to restructure the union into two organizations.

"My preference is that the international union leadership in the U.S. agree to the terms we are setting out guaranteeing our union in Canada full and complete autonomy within the structure of the international

UAW Canadian Director Bob White

union," White said. "If that is not possible, then we will have no choice but to sit down as intelligent trade unionists and negotiate a complete restructuring of the union into two distinct organizations."

The terms were:

- An independent Canadian bargaining program "without interference from the U.S."

- No intervention by the American union in any negotiations conducted in Canada with a company headquartered in the U.S., "unless at the express request of the director for Canada."

- All union staff in Canada would report to and work under the direction of the director for Canada."

- The UAW in Canada would have the right to pursue mergers with other unions, including Canadian sections of international unions, whether or not parallel mergers are achievable in the U.S.

"Let me make my position clear," White told the Council. "We obviously have to be cognizant of the collective bargaining developments in the U.S. We would be foolish to ignore them. But we have reached a stage in our history where our union's collective bargaining direction in the U.S. is different from that in Canada. We must be able to pursue a program in the interests of our Canadian membership, and do so without interference from anyone in the U.S.," he said.

The Council's endorsement set the stage for the meeting in mid-December, at which White and Boiber announced they could not resolve their differences, and the Canadian union would split from the International.

The International's Executive Board (IEB) voted 24 to one against the Canadian proposal. Instead, it agreed to set up an IEB committee to work out the financial and legal details of creating two UAWs, one in Canada and one in the U.S.

"We will always be called the UAW," White said minutes after the board's decision. "In three months time I will have been 34 years with this union. My roots are strong. We do not do this lightly, but are aware of the responsibilities and challenges that are ahead of us."

"This is not a war," White said. "We're not walking out, and nobody's being thrown out. This is about Canadians having control over their own destiny."

Many Canadians see advantages in international unions because of their massive strike funds. White said he expected the assets would be divided fairly between the two unions. "The worst thing that could happen to our U.S. colleagues is that there be a weak Canadian union financially and structurally. It has to be strong for everyone's interests."

Will the new Canadian UAW mean less investment in Canada by the big automakers? Industry analysts say the companies won't let North American production be halted by Canadian workers. They expect new sources to be set up. But the American industry is bound by the Canada-U.S. Auto Pact, which requires the American companies to build a certain percentage of their total production in Canada.

What does the move mean for the UAW? Will the union be big enough to support a long strike against the big companies? The union seems to be addressing the problem through expansion. White has already promoted a Canadian Metalworkers Federation, which would include members of the present UAW, Machinists, Steelworkers and others. The UAW is also holding merger talks with a smaller union in the airline industry, and White revealed there have been discussions with two other smaller industrial unions.

The effect on the Canadian labor movement as a whole should prove profound. To date, Canadian unionism has found its home, for the most part, in the public sector unions. A new, all-Canadian giant in the private sector is bound to create waves that will force fundamental changes.

Collin Gribbons is president of Union Communications, a non-profit collective providing information services for unions.

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

FOR THE FRENCH DEMOCRATIC LABOR Confederation (CFDT), flexibility begins at home. Scarcely had CFDT leaders agreed to an accord on job flexibility worked out with the French employers' association than rebellion in the ranks forced them to turn it down. CFDT leader Edmond Maire said the reversal showed just how democratic his organization really is. Even more, the flip-flop suddenly brought out the fact that the CFDT, the French trade union confederation considered most in tune with the times, is in a tailspin.

Nowhere in the Western world is a major labor leader more eager to adapt to post-industrial society than Edmond Maire. The Confederation Nationale du Patronat Français (CNPF), the employers' association, had already convinced the media and the government that the modernization of French industry was being held back by the rigidity of hiring and firing procedures. The CNPF wanted more "flexibility," supposedly to be able to adjust to rapidly shifting export markets and to introduce new technologies. Maire's CFDT responded positively, anxious to show it could lead the way in adapting the labor movement to new technologies.

Maire and his team believe that as big factories are automated or move to the Third World, an ever greater share of remaining jobs will be in small enterprises. This is a serious challenge to the labor movement, since today 82 percent of companies with 10-50 employees are without union representation. Thus the CFDT was anxious to negotiate a deal that could help give union delegates a say in the life of small companies, as well as in adjustment of working conditions to technological innovation.

In return, CFDT leaders were willing to grant employers some of the flexibility they sought. Approving the draft accord on "conditions of job adaptation" on December 16, the CFDT National Bureau said flexibility had "nothing to do with deregulation" but rather could "facilitate job creation, notably for unemployed and young people."

But nothing in the five-part text actually obliged employers to use their greater leeway to create new jobs. Eventual benefits to workers were couched in rather vague terms of recommendations and pious wishes. The benefits to employers, on the other hand, were clear and immediate: in particular, greater freedom to hire temporary personnel than allowed by existing contracts or labor law. The accord called on parliament to pass new legislation to bring the labor code into line with its recommendations.

In negotiating with the CNPF, the CFDT was accompanied by the anti-Communist confederation Force Ouvrière, the relatively small French Christian Labor Confederation (CFTC) and the Confederation Générale des Cadres (CGC), an executives' union. The Communist-led General Confederation of Labor (CGT) criticized the whole business as thinly disguised deregulation.

A spade is a spade.

Similar criticisms of the December 16 accord were voiced throughout the labor movement. The CFDT's own union of labor agency administrators, specialists in the matter, protested that if signed, the accord would mean that the unions agreed with the employers in calling for deregulation. "For the first time in the history of labor law [in France], it would mean reducing protection of wage-earners—and at the request of the labor unions! Indeed, up to now, except during Vichy, labor law has never evolved in a direction unfavorable to wage-earners. According to the relationship of forces between classes, it advanced more or less rapidly, or stood still, but never retreated." They concluded that it was necessary to "refuse that fool's bargain: a deregulation of labor law in exchange for a possible rotation of

wage-earners in regular jobs...but no job creation."

The draft accord was fiercely attacked by leading labor law expert Gérard Lyon-Caen, even more for the process than for the content. What had happened, he wrote in a comment published in *Le Monde*, was that the employers, feeling constrained by certain features of the labor code, had turned to the unions for an agreement that they could show to the Socialists to get them to pass legislation embodying CNPF demands with union approval.

"Thus the law is being negotiated outside parliament," he wrote. As this practice grows, "it is time to call a spade a spade: the system in which special interests rather than the people's elected representatives make the decisions is called corporatism." The term "corporatism," associated with fascism, was certainly meant to sting the ears of French Socialists. Lyon-Caen warned against use of the weakened unions to negotiate an amputation of rights already possessed by wage-earners. "It is up to parliament to make the laws," he insisted.

On December 21, Force Ouvrière and CFTC leaders gave up trying to convince their own organizations to accept the accord. Outside headquarters in Paris, CFDT members demonstrated against their own leaders. On December 26, the CFDT leadership regretfully announced it could not sign the accord. CFDT leaders blamed CGT sniping and CNPF intransigence for creating a climate of rejection among working people.

It was above all medium-rank officials, the backbone of the unions, who forced the national leaders to disavow a package of measures that endangered the stability of existing jobs without guaranteeing the creation of any new ones. Maire himself acknowledged that everyone in the CFDT wanted to modernize. Those who opposed the accord simply thought it had too many negative aspects to serve as a basis for building a social dynamic, he said.

The second left.

For the CFDT, the idea behind the December 16 text was to provide a framework for more precise negotiations

in the various industrial branches and companies. Maire's analysis is that in the new world of small companies, decision-making will be dispersed, and that collective bargaining between unions and management can protect employment more appropriately than labor legislation, necessarily centralized and "rigid" in that it gives general rules for all cases. The CFDT has long been the stronghold of what in the last decade has come to be called the "second left," stressing the importance of "civil society" in contrast to political parties and the state.

The weakening of the political left in France has further encouraged the CFDT to try to detach labor's fortunes from electoral politics. Maire said he wanted to avoid letting labor relations be "subordinated to political ups and downs. Bargain-

But, while willing to cooperate on job flexibility, the leadership of the French Democratic Labor Confederation was unprepared for a rebellion in the ranks. CFDT leaders say the rebellion proves how democratic they are, but it has also left the union in a tailspin.

ing contracts should be a constant element in the life of our society." On this point, despite many other differences, Maire found himself in agreement with Force Ouvrière's leader André Bergeron, a long-time champion of collective bargaining with management in opposition to "political" unionism.

The unions also were under pressure. If they did not reach an agreement, they feared that Prime Minister Laurent Fabius' government, sensitive to employers' demands for flexibility, might take still worse measures by decree, while blaming the unions for their obstinacy. And legislation after the expected right-wing comeback in the 1986 parliamentary elections could be even worse yet.

These prospects meant that the unions entered negotiations with a very unfavorable relationship of forces. The CFDT, the largest of the three unions engaged in the bargaining, has been losing membership and seemed sweetly reasonable rather than combative.

"But this sort of negotiation is possible only with unions ready to raise hell if their demands are not met, like some British and American unions," one French labor specialist commented. "What bargaining power the CFDT had, it drew from the strength of existing labor law. It was ready to bargain away some constraints existing in the law in return for shorter hours and representation of workers in small enterprises."

Maire has hoped to persuade employers that giving employees new workplace rights costs nothing and should increase productivity. But French employers are not convinced, least of all, those in small companies.

The very fact that the unions were willing in principle to go along with modernization and flexibility strengthens the political weight of their rejection of CNPF terms. With elections drawing near, the Fabius government has backed off from enacting by decree measures repudiated by three "moderate" unions. Even the resurgent right might hesitate to go against the will of the two centrist unions, FO and the CFTC.

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Lionel Delvingne

Nowhere in the Western world is a major labor leader more eager to adapt to post-industrial society than CFDT leader Maire.

FRANCE

Trade unions confederation is eager to be in tune with times

1199

Continued from page 6

pletion, Turner, as president of the New York City District 1199, prevailed upon RWDSU President Alvin Heaps to scuttle ratification and then to cut off the hospital union's right to exit from the international. After Turner narrowly lost to Nicholas in a December 1983 bid for the national union presidency, Heaps dissolved the autonomous hospital union into multiple RWDSU locals.

In April 1984 Turner triumphed over a pro-national union slate in district elections, but the results were challenged before the Department of Labor. With court battles and feverish internal tensions threatening the union's operation, peace of a sort came with a June agreement allowing the national union, minus its New York district, a sepa-

rate AFL-CIO charter. New York City contract talks and a city-wide strike followed a month later.

White's role in these events was, by his own account, shifting and agonizing. After attending secret 1981 sessions headed by Davis plotting how best to deflate Turner's power, White bolted to Turner's side. After being groomed for the presidency for all those years, White believed, she was dumped for finally showing independence. Did he think he would help her overcome her deficiencies as a leader? "I never believed she would win," says White. As a matter of basic "black consciousness," he simply "the right thing to do."

Disillusionment.

White had once excused Doris Turner's depoliticized style and appeals to Bible Christianity as ways of reaching the rank and file. But he was unprepared to hear capital punishment, prayer in the schools and anti-abortion arguments within the highest

councils of the union. What's more, claims White, Turner twice voted against divestiture of pension funds from an accounting firm doing business with South Africa. With dismay, White noted the contrast between the democratic tastes of the union's old and new leaders. Invited to dinner at Turner's "mansion" in Mt. Vernon, White felt uncomfortable at being served by a black man in a white coat. "I used to go to Davis' house and, shit, you take three steps, you're out the back door—and his wife was doing the cooking." Within the district, the silencing of critics, the incompetence of union functionaries and then the ballot stuffing gave White increasing doubts.

"The culmination" of White's disaffection, however, came with the 1984 strike. Waged in his opinion with no preparation and no rational way to save Turner's own image, proceeding without consultation from the union's executive council and ending with less than might have been settled for at the beginning, the strike was a "disaster." For several weeks, White says, he couldn't eat. He lost 35 pounds from a nervous stomach. "For the first time in my life," White says, "I was ashamed to look at the members."

Refusing to attend the strike's "history rallies", White prepared his resignation, delaying its formal submission only until the strike ended.

Since then, argues White, the apparent breakdown of the strike-ending agreement (workers still have not received their 5 percent raises), discovery of massive, unannounced union givebacks in the contract terms, and spreading layoffs against which the union "stands naked" make matters even more disturbing. "If this goes on," White declares, "there's gonna be nothing left." In addition, President Turner has proposed a series of by-law changes that "will make it impossible to challenge the leadership in that union."

"Anybody on earth would be better than what's there now," he says soberly. "You still need to fight racism, but [1199] was an honest union, the union was always

there." Of the present District 1199 leadership White says, "These people have to go—the whole cabal. They're not trade unionists."

Leon Fink is assistant professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Chicago

Continued from page 7

"dedicated to cooperation and a spirit of compromise, as opposed to the spirit of racial confrontation," and many predict he will run for mayor in '87 just to siphon away black votes from Washington.

"Bullock could be one hell of a contender," Page says. "He could get a lot of votes. He's a good campaigner, an effective speaker and he's very, very ambitious. But he has an image problem concerning his links to Vrdolyak. But other than that, he is vocalizing what a lot of machine blacks want to say. Many of these machine blacks like Ald. Niles Sherman, Bill Henry and Wilson Frost have problems with Harold's reform agenda. They're used to the traditional spoils system.

"Harold's tremendous grassroots support keeping them quiet for now, but if they sense that Washington may be a one-term mayor, they'll start yapping all over town," Page contends.

Basil Talbott, political editor of the *Chicago Sun-Times*, believes that Bullock may verbally challenge Washington but won't run for mayor. "If he does run, it'll only mobilize more blacks to vote for Harold," he argues. Talbott believes Washington has a tight hold on his constituency and sees no chance of it unraveling. He also discounts any prediction that Washington and Vrdolyak will eventually mend fences.

"Why should Washington compromise with the Vrdolyak-Burke forces?" asks Rose. "You can't compromise with cancer."

CENTRAL AMERICA
FACES

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PERU

The Shining Path guerrillas are an "enemy without a face"

By Carol Wise

LIMA, PERU

AS THE MAJOR PARTIES AND CANDIDATES kick off the electioneering for the upcoming Peruvian presidential elections scheduled for April, the peasant and worker-based Maoist guerrilla movement, "Sendero Luminoso" (Shining Path), has become an unexpected contender. Yet they have the clear intention of doing everything possible to sabotage the electoral process.

The Sendero movement signaled its animosity toward the return to constitutional rule during the 1978 Constitutional Assembly elections—the first to be held in Peru in nearly two decades. At this time, as Peru's wide spectrum of left-wing political parties scrambled for a place in the electoral arena, the Sendero group splintered off from the Peruvian Communist Party and went underground to initiate guerrilla warfare.

Deeply embittered by unfulfilled promises under Peru's leftist military regime, which ruled from 1968-80, and by centuries of social and economic neglect of the outer Andean provinces by state administrators, Sendero gradually came to embrace a Maoist Gang of Four revolutionary ideology. Faced with the electoral victory of President Francisco Belaunde in 1980, whose administration in the early '60s had been characterized by inept and corrupt attempts at state intervention by international jet-set technocrats, Sendero declared a war of the countryside against the city from its base in the southern Andean department of Ayacucho.

Sendero's first acts of sabotage in 1980 were such that Belaunde and his center-right Accion Popular party could pass the group off as an eccentric anomaly. Sendero's activities consisted of dynamite attacks on regional police stations and the burning of provincial ballot boxes. Shortly before Belaunde's presidential inauguration, the population of metropolitan Lima awoke one morning to the sight of dead dogs strung across street lampposts. This was apparently an indictment of Deng Xiaoping—the "dog" who forsook the Chinese Cultural Revolution. Subsequent dogs hung by Sendero have been called "the dead dogs of capitalism."

By the end of 1982 it had become difficult to write Sendero off as a quirk. The group then claimed more than 3,000 subversive acts, ranging from attacks and bombings of major public works projects, particularly the gigantic hydroelectric plants that serve Lima's industrial sector, to a spate of assaults and assassinations of police in the southern Andean area. One especially ugly twist to Sendero's "armed struggle" has been the increasing occurrence of special "people's trials," which frequently result in the execution of local authorities, elected officials, or anyone else identified as "class enemies."

The appearance of 10,000 mourners at the September 1982 funeral of 19-year-old Edith Lagos, a young Sendero leader killed in an Ayacucho police scuffle, indicated that the group was larger and less isolated than originally believed. Further, Sendero's carefully planned birthday celebration in December 1982 for its founder and leader Abimael Guzman tended to dispel rumors that Guzman had fled the country or died of a serious skin disease. Guzman, a former professor of philosophy at Ayacucho's Huamanga University and the ideological mastermind of Sendero Luminoso, has not been seen in public since



Peruvian President Francisco Belaunde's military response to the guerrilla movement has polarized city and countryside.

1978 and has become something of a mythical figure in Peru. Better known as "Comrade Gonzalo," Guzman was honored on his 48th birthday by a total blackout of Lima, with a huge hammer and sickle design burning quietly on the Andean foothills to the east.

The paramilitary police's failure to control guerrilla warfare in Ayacucho, plus Sendero's cold-blooded murder of the director of the Ayacucho branch of Peru's National Cultural Institute, led to full-scale military intervention in the area in early 1983. Military deployment caused Belaunde pain on two counts. First was the fear of giving an already powerful military more power. Second was the drop in national prestige and foreign credibility, in the eyes of both the IMF and transnational investors, that accompanies military intervention of this nature. But similar measures had quickly squelched a 1965 guerrilla uprising on the Peruvian coast. Fearful of losing its political foothold to the ascendant United Left coalition party, or to the centrist APRA party, Belaunde opted for a quick solution.

But the 1965 guerrillas tended to march in battle fatigues and open columns that were easily surrounded and destroyed by the army, while Sendero remains largely an "enemy without a face." Beyond the now common knowledge that students, peasants and workers from the Ayacucho region form the backbone of what appears to be a 5,000-7,000-member national organization, Senderos offer no clues as to who they are. This has forced those military and civilian personnel that have been

handed the anti-subversive mandate to rely mainly on written materials published throughout the '70s before and after the group went underground. These include Comrade Gonzalo's various adaptations of Marx, Lenin and Mao to the Andean situation and his interpretations of the works of Jose Carlos Mariategui, the distinguished Peruvian socialist critic of the '30s.

Documents that have been discovered indicate that Sendero is definitely in for the long haul. One pamphlet on the nuts and bolts operation of the group covers five different levels of activity within Sendero. As excerpted in the February 1983 issue of *The Andean Report*, these consist of the following: "sympathizers," who transmit messages, purchase supplies and hide people wanted by the police; "pre-militant" cells who print slogans and toss dynamite at state installations; "militants," who conduct area studies, collect dues and relay orders; "cadres," who have gone through a special "cadre schooling" and who draw up Sendero's political documents and military plans; and finally, "leaders," such as Comrade Gonzalo, Julio Cesar Mezzich (Sendero's equivalent of Comandante Cero) and Laura Zambrano Padilla. The latter, better known as Comarada Meche, headed Sendero's Lima operations until her capture by the capital police last July.

The most recent round of Sendero publications date back to September and are believed to represent the outcome of a clandestine national convention held somewhere in Peru at that time. According to *Que hacer*, a left-wing Lima monthly, these

writings elaborate political and military strategy. One document identifies sabotage, selective terrorism, guerrilla tactics and psychological warfare as the basic forms of struggle, and sets forth 11 "procedures" that range from agitation to taking over entire towns and villages. Another applauds "President Gonzalo's masterly handling of the political moment," and claims success in Sendero's efforts to create a "People's Guerrilla Army." Peru's present democracy is condemned as "Sancho Panza-like electoralism," and Sendero's goal is said to be a "New Democracy Republic" based on a worker-peasant-petty bourgeoisie alliance.

Belaunde's backfire.

Instead of bringing the conflict to a quick close, Belaunde's military response has polarized city and countryside in a manner that plays directly into Sendero's plan to provoke a prolonged and bloody struggle. The army's free reign in the designated emergency zone, and its inability to grasp the enemy, has led to arbitrary murders and torture and has catapulted Peru to the top of Amnesty International's 1984 list of South American human rights abusers. The military occupation's first month saw the horrifying massacre of eight Peruvian journalists by a band of peasants in the highland village of Uchuraccay. This massacre, still under government investigation, is widely seen as a direct product of the military's "security policy" of indoctrinating peasants to do its dirty work.

Since Sendero's public declaration of guerrilla war in May 1980, official statistics register 4,000 dead, roughly 3,000 imprisoned for terrorist offenses, and some 1,200-1,500 "missing." (Because of Belaunde's eagerness to downplay the conflict, the official estimates are generally considered unrealistically low.) But only 14 Sendero members have been convicted and sen-

Continued on page 23

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By John B. Judis

Editor's note: The following reflections by In These Times' senior editor are a continuation of an earlier piece on American politics that appeared in the November 21 issue.

I
IN WESTERN EUROPE, ONE CAN DIRECTLY attribute the rise of conservatism and even neofascism to the palsy that has afflicted socialist, Communist and labor parties. But in the U.S. the socialist movement has been virtually invisible. What effect could it have had on politics?

In the U.S., modern liberalism was itself a bastard child of socialism and corporate reform. Liberals and progressives adopted socialist's immediate programs while rejecting their indictment of the capitalist system. Even after the U.S. ceased to have a significant socialist movement, socialist intellectuals, through their influence in the media and universities, inspired most of the important liberal programs, from the war on poverty to the full employment bills.

It could even be said that liberals could not have been liberals without socialists. Liberalism is a politics of the center, and without a left, liberalism becomes marginalized on the left.

The demise of liberalism and the rise of the right in the last decade have been made possible by the absence of a socialist left in American politics. In domestic policy, the absence of a left alternative enabled the Republican right to present its laissez-faire economics as the only alternative to the liberals' discredited neo-Keynesian remedies. In foreign policy, the absence of a left-wing rationale for non-intervention abroad (beyond the veneration of those movements against which the right wanted to intervene) made the liberal center vulnerable to charges of being "soft on communism."

So to answer the question of why American socialism is in profound doldrums it is important to understand not merely the plight of socialists, but plights of liberals and the success of the right. The revival of liberalism may, indeed, hang on the revival of a socialist left.

II

Among socialists themselves, the most common understanding of the crisis of socialism is that it is a public relations problem. The combination of Cold War propaganda and Horatio Algerism has made Americans unusually immune to appeals from the left. This view has been put in respectable historical terms by Louis Hartz, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and others. According to these historians, the lack of a feudal tradition has made Americans especially receptive to laissez-faire liberalism's vision of a classless society of independent entrepreneurs. Socialism has appeared anti-American.

But there is another factor involved. In his *Decline of Socialism in America, 1912-1925*, *In These Times* editor James Weinstein shows that in the first two decades of the 20th century the American Socialist Party was a viable political organization and that its decline came only after the Russian Revolution, when the socialist international and the American movement split into rival socialist and communist blocs. The split weakened the American movement at a time it was under attack, and the eventual rise of the Communist left elevated a model of socialism that was antithetical to American values of freedom and democracy.

With the onset of the Cold War, Americans came to equate socialism with prison camps, thought control and four families sharing a drab, unheated flat. And non-Communist socialists either abandoned socialism or conceived of it as a variant of liberalism.

In the late '60s and '70s, there was a revival of socialism in the U.S. as well as



in Western Europe. The formation of new anarchist and Marxist-Leninist vanguards and the trend toward "Eurosocialism" and "Eurocommunism" in Western Europe had their counterpart in the formation of several revolutionary vanguard parties and in Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and the New American Movement (NAM), which merged in 1982 to form the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA).

These movements and groups attempted to transcend the old split in the international by promoting a socialism or communism that was Marxist and critical of Soviet socialism.

But while the European socialists have had trouble holding their heads above water—the apparent failure of the Mitterrand government in France and the poor showing of the left-wing Laborites in Britain have been severe reverses—the American socialists have remained stranded on the shore, observers to events that they cannot influence.

III

It verges on a circular argument, but American socialism's present nadir is partly the result of the rise of contemporary conservatism, which has produced a political generation immune to the logic of public ownership. Yet American socialists have contributed to their own isolation. While both the vanguards and the "democratic socialists" have declared their independence from Soviet socialism, they have not presented another view of socialism that begins to overcome the unattractiveness of the Soviet model.

The revolutionary communist organizations only substituted one authoritarian model for another—China, Cuba or even North Korea for the Soviet Union. As they have become disillusioned with these meccas, they have gravitated back to the Soviet model.

The democratic socialists have had vague or utopian conceptions of socialism. Many are reluctant to go beyond identifying socialism as "democratic ownership and

control of the means of production." In my five years as a New American Movement member, including two on its national committee, and as a reporter at three DSOC and two DSA conventions, I cannot remember one substantive discussion of what an American socialism might be.

When pressed, most democratic socialists describe socialism as economic planning (albeit less centralized than the Soviet Union) plus democracy. If they are from the '60s generation, they might throw in something about the need for a "personal transformation" that would produce a new socialist man and woman. And if they are Marxists, they are most likely to cite Marx's *Early Writings* and the *German Ideology*.

There are two problems here. First, the very vagueness of the democratic socialists' conception invites misunderstanding and does little to dispell the popular understanding of socialism. And second, the democratic socialists' usually unspoken assumptions about planning and personal

transformation unwittingly summon up (for those outside their circle) the specter of Soviet socialism.

Conservative economists like Hayek and Von Mises were among the first to argue that economic planning was incompatible with political democracy. While their arguments were not borne out in the U.S. or Britain, where state intervention was limited, they hit the mark in the socialist-planned economies. If all forms of autonomous enterprise are abolished and if the schemes of planners are substituted for the labor and goods markets, and if the power to plan is vested in the government, then the governing party has immense power by which to perpetuate its rule—regardless of whether elections take place. And even if planning is delegated to city and state as well as the federal government, then each governing entity will have the power to perpetuate itself.

Compare for a moment politics in Chicago during the Daley era with those in a future "socialist Chicago." Chicago had a multi-party system and staged regular elections during the Daley era, but the Democratic machine's control over city patronage and its ties to the main economic institutions of the city gave it an unchallengeable advantage over its independent and Republican rivals. But in a socialist Chicago, the city's government would very likely control far more than the 20,000 or 30,000 public works jobs that it did under Daley. It would not have "ties" to the major economic institutions; it would be the major institutions.

The democratic socialists' plans for "personal transformation" may also be incompatible with democracy. Permanent rather than transitory changes in a nation's personality take place slowly and invisibly. While revolutions and periods of intense political conflict often create "new men and women," they tend to revert back to a barely modified version of their "old selves" after the shouting is over. The revolutionary government then has a choice of either adjusting its expectations downward or trying to legislate and enforce personal transformation under the banner of a cultural revolution.

The democratic socialists no longer speak glowingly of the need for a cultural revolution, but they have not recognized the threat as well as the promise that their lack of personal transformation holds for an unenlightened citizenry.

IV

Why does the very nature of socialism go undiscussed in socialist organizations? An important reason is that these organizations are not primarily political in character, but social and religious. Their function is social. They serve as social clubs that preserve the fading political legacy of the '60s—and, to a lesser extent, the '30s. Their historical meaning is religious. They are footnotes in the history of American Protestantism.

They are assemblies of the elect—souls who have seen the great light—who through their membership declare their difference from rather than their commonality with other Americans. They employ a vocabulary ("socialism," "working class") that is either not understood or misunderstood by most Americans. And they often validate their views not by testing them on earth but by reference to sacred texts.

DSA is undoubtedly the best of the socialist organizations, not so much because it is democratic in its intentions (although one cannot sneeze at this), but because it divorces its socialist politics from its everyday political activity. Its members confine their socialism to special schools, while registering people to vote and backing reform candidates for office. But this schizophrenia calls into question the need for a socialist organization.

The argument for being a socialist organization—for instance, as advanced within NAM in 1971—was that it was the kind of society the membership wanted and that by being identified as "socialist," the

members would have to transcend the radical interest group (fill-in-the-blank liberation) orientation of the new left: the members would have to be clear about what they were for.

But the socialist label functioned in precisely the opposite manner. In every place except for a few middle-class college towns, it served as a barrier to political participation. Organizations had to choose between the schizophrenia of DSA or the Communist Labor Party and the ambulatory catatonia of the Spartacist League. For the schizophrenics, the socialist label encouraged their gravitating between a reformist present, dedicated to registering voters, and a faerie future of vague but glorious rewards. Under the hallowed distinction between "minimum" and "maximum" programs, the socialists totally ignored the uncomfortable fact that no one had the faintest idea what the maximum program really was. Socialism functioned as a symbol of devotion rather than a term in search of a definition.

Ironically, the most creative contributions to socialism have been made by politicians, political groups and intellectuals who refuse to be labelled "socialist." Tom Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy in California went farther in presenting a concrete alternative to corporate capitalism than any of the socialist organizations. Derek Shearer and Martin Carnoy's *Economic Democracy* and Fred Block's writing on post-industrial society have more to say about American socialism—although the authors generally avoid this designation—than the platforms of the socialist and communist organizations.

These politicians and intellectuals recognize that the vocabulary of socialism cannot provide the basis for a left opposition to Reagan Republicanism and neoliberalism. Socialism is not a starting point in left politics, but a political, theoretical and terminological fork in the road that an organization will have to come to. Nor is it any longer a set of axioms from which one can deduce the nature of the present and the promise of the future, but rather a political and intellectual tradition from which one must draw, but draw carefully and selectively.

The question for socialists is this: can one derive from the socialist tradition a political alternative that is both possible and desirable? In American terms, can one redeem through socialism the promise of liberty, equality and democracy that stirred the mechanics and small farmers that backed Andrew Jackson and the immigrant workers who found a political home in Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal.

V

From my limited reading, the most important socialist theoretical work is being done today by Eastern European Marxists like Rudolf Bahro (recently converted to Greenism) and Branko Horvat and by Alec Nove, a Menshevik expatriate and economic historian. The Eastern Europeans understand that socialism is both an "ideology" used to justify a new form of class society and a politics of liberation from capitalist class rule. The point is to disentangle one from the other.

Nove, inspired by the Eastern Europeans, has gone farther than anyone I've read in presenting a socialism that is both possible and desirable. Nove's *The Economics of Feasible Socialism* spells out an alternative to both Soviet socialism and to the fantasies of new left socialists, whether of the democratic Trotskyist or neo-anarchist persuasion.

Nove does not regard the Soviet Union as socialist—because the working class does not own and control the means of production—but he contends that many of the shortcomings of Soviet socialism can be traced to Marx's concept of socialism. It was from Marx that the Soviets adopted a centralized mode of planning in which, in Lenin's words, "the whole society will have become a single office and a single factory." This model became the ideolog-

ical basis of Stalin's collectivization.

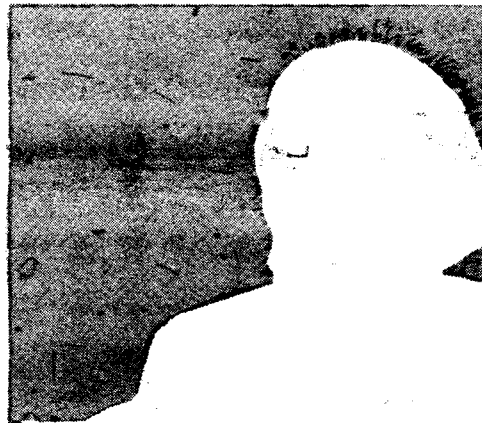
Nove argues that this kind of marketless centralized planning is not only economically inefficient—it creates diseconomies of scale, shortages and rationing, a lack of incentive and a reluctance to innovate as well as the substitution of quantity for quality—but it is also inherently undemocratic. It is necessarily hierarchical and authoritarian, with the decision of what products to produce and what kind of work to encourage left to remote experts. A centralized economy leads to a centralized political authority.

Nove equally rejects what he regards as the utopian formulations of the new left, based in Marx's early writings. He contends that the young Marx underestimated the complexity and overestimated the wealth of modern industrial society.

While it will be possible to reduce the labor time spent in producing goods, it will not be possible to produce sufficient abundance to eliminate competition among producers and consumers for scarce goods and resources. Some means of allocating resources will be necessary. And the choice is between the market, which allows consumers some influence, and a centralized planning system and rationing, which cedes these decisions to remote experts.

Nove also rejects the new left contention that the division of labor and the labor market can be abolished under socialism. Nove insists that specialization will remain and that the only alternative to a labor market with income differentials is the compulsion of labor by a central authority.

In Nove's conception of socialism, those industries and services upon which all others depend (for instance, finance, transportation, energy) will be nationalized and centrally planned. But other industries and



American socialists have contributed to their own isolation while the vanguard parties and "democratic socialists" have declared independence from the Soviet concept of socialism, they have not come forth with a view of socialism that's attractive.

services would take different forms of ownership and control, depending on tradition and economy of scale. Large-scale industries could be run as cooperatives or as socialized enterprises leased to workers and management.

While there would be no capitalist class, there would be small privately-owned businesses subject to limits in size. (In some countries, agriculture would remain private.) While economic planners could exert considerable leverage through their control of the economy's commanding heights, their decisions would be mediated by the market, which would still govern the exchange of most goods and services. To ensure the proper working of the market, Nove even anticipates a socialist anti-trust policy.

Such a socialist economy is not inconsistent with an authoritarian political structure—both Yugoslavia and Hungary, which have experimented with market socialism, are ruled by dictatorships. But it could also provide the basis of a pluralistic democracy, with a multi-party system and countervailing sources of political power. Nove would argue that his market socialism is not a sufficient, but only a necessary condition of a socialist democracy.

From the vantage point of utopian Marxists, Nove's socialism is unattractive. It looks too much like the mixed economies of Western Europe. But that is precisely its charm and brilliance.

The great pre-World War I socialist parties of Europe and the U.S. prospered because they presented an alternative to corporate capitalism that also appeared to be an extension of its development. The program of Eugene Debs' Socialist Party was not dissimilar from Nove's. While banks and major industry were to be nationalized, farming was to remain private, and small business would be allowed to flourish. The Communists later attacked the Socialists for their "reformism" and "opportunism."

Nove's socialism is compelling because it is not apocalyptic and impossible, and it does not command religious devotion but only intelligent reflection.

VI

Over the next decade, Nove's kind of market socialism could provide a way of reorienting American socialists toward a more practical and less schizophrenic politics. Nove's conception of a multi-level and mixed socialism potentially reconciles American federalism with socialism and preserves Americans' commitment to economic liberty and business enterprise.

My purpose in these reflections, however, is not to replace Marx with Nove and democratic socialism with market socialism, but only to suggest that there is an important debate that is not occurring and should occur among American socialists—a debate as to the nature of the goal we are committed to. Without that debate, socialists' commitment to socialism will remain religious rather than political and American socialist organizations will remain irrelevant to everyday politics.

My purpose is even less to recommend the platform for a new (or old) socialist organization. Like children learning to swim without an inflated vest, American socialists will have to learn how to express their objectives without reference to socialism and Marx. Political reality demands this: the American people are not ready to listen to any self-declared version of socialism, whether Soviet, democratic or market. But so does the theoretical realization that socialism is now as much a question as an answer.

In writing these reflections my purpose has not been to distance myself or *In These Times* from the crisis I have described. I have been part of this history both as a member of NAM until 1976 and as a writer for a publication that embraces socialism in spirit, although not necessarily in substance. As I have described motivations and misunderstandings, they have been mine as well as those of other contemporary socialists.

EDITORIAL

MR. MEESE - THE MAN WHO
HELPED YOU SELL YOUR HOUSE
WAS NAMED ASSISTANT
SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR...



THE BANKER WHO HELPED YOU
WITH AN OVERDUE MORTGAGE
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UNITED NATIONS...



AND THE ACCOUNTANT WHO
HELPED YOU GET LOANS WAS
APPOINTED HEAD OF THE
U.S. POSTAL SERVICE



WOULDN'T YOU LIKE TO
HELP ME WITH MY
CONFIRMATION?



WASSERMAN
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Would you want this man to protect you against criminals?

Not long ago we had a president who, shortly before he became the first chief executive to be forced to resign from office, declared: "I am not a crook." Soon we may have an attorney general who is also not a crook, it having been found, just barely, that there is no basis for bringing criminal charges against him.

That man, of course, is Edwin Meese, one of President Reagan's old friends and a top White House advisor, who Reagan nominated a year ago to succeed the retiring William French Smith as the nation's highest law enforcement official. In confirmation hearings last March before the Senate Judiciary Committee embarrassing information was quickly brought to light. And in mid-March the Justice Department, under pressure, decided to launch an investigation. Meese then asked for a suspension of the hearings and for the appointment of an "independent counsel"—aka "special prosecutor"—to investigate the charges. A panel of judges from the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington appointed Jacob Stein, a prominent Washington lawyer, to investigate the charges.

He investigated 11 allegations against Meese. The most serious had to do with appointments to high office in the Reagan administration of men who had helped Meese financially while he was serving in the White House. Other charges were that Meese had repeatedly failed to report information required by law on his public disclosure forms; that he had received special treatment by the U.S. Army Reserve; and that he had withheld information from a House subcommittee inves-

tigating the "Debategate" affair.

In September Stein issued a lengthy report concluding that there was "no basis" for bringing criminal charges against Meese, but saying explicitly in the preamble that Stein had refused requests to declare "that the evidence does not substantiate the loose charges of moral turpitude brought against Mr. Meese." His findings, Stein wrote, had nothing to do with Meese's fitness for office, or whether his behavior was proper conduct for a public official. He was not even asked to decide whether Meese might have violated civil laws or federal regulations governing the conduct of federal employees, Stein reiterated. His mandate was simply to determine whether Meese should be prosecuted for violations of criminal law.

Meese and his supporters, of course, seized on this limited finding to declare that all doubts about his fitness to serve as attorney general had been put to rest. Not too surprisingly, most of the media followed suit, declaring that Meese had been vindicated. But in fact, the Stein report presents evidence that Edwin Meese has repeatedly violated the ethical standards spelled out in the federal code of regulations and in Executive Order 11222 (1965), which sets forth some basic principles of conduct for federal officials.

The code requires federal employees to maintain the "highest standards of honesty, integrity, impartiality and conduct" and to avoid "misconduct and conflicts of interest... through informed judgment."

It also requires federal officials to avoid

any action that "might result in, or create the appearance of using public office for private gain," or "giving preferential treatment to any person." White House officials are also supposed to avoid involvement in "situations which present the possibility, or even the appearance, that [an] official position might be used to... private advantage."

The charges.

In June 1981, after Meese had moved to Washington and bought a house for \$265,000 in McLean, Va., he was in deep financial trouble. He had not yet sold his home in La Mesa, Calif., and was three months behind in payments on a \$150,000 mortgage. Through his White House colleague Michael Deaver, Meese was introduced to John McKean, Deaver's accountant, from whom Meese asked a \$60,000 loan, which McKean gave him in two installments.

A month after the first installment of \$40,000, Deaver suggested that McKean be nominated for the balance of an unexpired term on the 11-member Postal Board of Governors, which sets policy for the Postal Service—a part-time position that pays up to \$19,000 a year plus expenses without interfering in members' private careers. Meese testified at his initial confirmation hearing that the McKean nomination was handled in a more or less routine manner. In fact, McKean's name was not on a list of 25 names sent by the personnel office in April 1981 to Meese, Deaver and the two others who made final hiring decisions. Nor was it on a narrowed down list of three, recommended in July.

On July 27, however, Deaver suggested McKean for the job, and Meese actively supported him. Meese never told the other members of his financial involvement with McKean, nor, of course, did he suggest recusing himself.

But this was not all. Less than two months after the president had signed off on McKean's nomination, Meese asked for the second, \$20,000 installment. McKean came up with the money and several months later also overlooked \$7,500 in unpaid interest on the loans. Then, in September 1982, McKean wrote Meese to tell him he was interested in being appointed to a full nine-year term on the Postal Board of Governors, a position that was opening in December. Meese later told GAO investigators that he and McKean "never discussed McKean's appointments in connection with the personal transactions involved." But the Stein report reveals that the two men discussed both matters at a Washington meeting on Nov. 8, 1982. And McKean got the job.

A similar series of events occurred between Meese and Los Angeles lawyer and real estate developer Thomas Barrack. This had to do with selling Meese's California house, which had been on the market for 18 months before Barrack came to the rescue. Barrack got two high-level government jobs, one at the Interior Department was created especially for him by then-Secretary of the Interior James Watt, the other, at the Commerce Department, required approval by Meese and three others on the Senior Staff Personnel Committee. Meese testified that he never helped Barrack in obtaining a federal job, or even knew that he was seeking one until after his first appointment. But the Stein investigation uncovered evidence that raises serious questions about the claim.

Not all of Meese's questionable deeds involved the promotion of others. In February 1983, Meese was himself promoted from lieutenant colonel in the Army Reserve to colonel. Shortly before this promotion he was informed that the actions of Army officials in clearing the way would give "the appearance of preferential treatment." And a subsequent Army investigation found that, in fact, Meese had been promoted "not on the basis of his past military performance, but rather on the basis of national prominence"—a definite no-no. But Meese, who benefitted not only from enhanced prestige but also from a higher pension, has insisted that he never knew he received special treatment, and that he explicitly asked those handling the matter to make sure everything was done by the book. Information in the Stein report, however, clearly contradicts this claim.

Legal guardian.

In an administration whose philosophy is that social good will come from the unleashing of private greed, Edwin Meese's chiseling and petty corruption is not that unusual, and it certainly is minor compared to the billions of dollars worth of opportunities created for American corporations by official administration actions. But even so, this man has been nominated to oversee the enforcement of all our federal laws.

We are not surprised that Ronald Reagan cannot see anything wrong in this. It is, after all, consistent with his morality. But we are troubled by the seeming silence both in Congress and in the media in regard to Meese's renomination. The nomination deserves a lot more attention than it has so far received.

For those interested in a more detailed account of the Stein report, see the January/February issue of *Common Cause Magazine*, 2030 M St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

WRONG, BUT NOT BAD

THE EDITORIAL "WHAT DOES KARL Marx have to offer the Democrats?" (ITT, Dec. 19) should have been titled "What does Karl Marx have to offer the Marxists?" I don't think the Democrats are looking to Karl Marx for answers to the perplexing problems facing our people and our nation. But *In These Times*, a socialist newspaper, would be expected to come up with some answers. Fortunately, it did toward the end when it suggested finding a way to bring together a diverse group of mayors, city council members, county officials, state legislators and members of Congress...to meet to discuss a new approach to American politics."

The editorial is proposing that the above categories of people "who are socialists and others close to them on the left who are successful politicians on all levels of government" would be the logical people with whom to make a start for purposes of "developing a practical program to solve our current social problems."

Not a bad idea! They would, indeed, be most suitable for a serious investigation and for serious recommendations as to what they could do to distance the U.S. and the world from the brink of disaster.

These politicians and their close associates are in an ideal position to focus in on the central problem of our time from which all other social problems flow. They could operate on a level no other socialist group could, providing they do not substitute themselves for their constituencies, but aim to influence all movements and coalitions to pull together toward the central need of the '80s, namely to reject the use of force for settling differences between peoples and nations.

The failure of the editorial to pinpoint the key issue of our life weakens its appeal. We find that the emphasis is upon the idea that we are "reaching the point where the early Marxian socialists' conception of the good society is not only becoming relevant, but may be the most fruitful way of developing a practical program to solve our current social problems..." etc. Thus moving toward socialism is placed on the agenda for the American people instead of the rejection of all policies of our government which contain the danger of total destruction of humanity.

Yet, the editorial may open up a serious discussion of considerable importance.

—E. Berto
Venice, Calif.

A NEW BRIGADE?

AS YOU REPORTED (ITT, NOV. 21), THE PURPOSE of the "pledge of resistance" signed by many of us around the country has been to create enough pressure domestically to deter the Reagan administration from escalating U.S. military involvement in Nicaragua. But international pressure is also needed. Isn't now the time for international brigades to assemble in Nicaragua as they did in Spain during the Spanish Civil War and pledge resistance to an invasion? In these high-tech times, a post-invasion effort would be too late.

Just as there was bipartisan opposition to Franco's war against the Spanish Republic, there is world-wide opposition to foreign aggression against the legally elected and recognized government of Nicaragua. The presence of thousands of citizens of nations throughout the world, pledged to resist outside aggression non-violently or otherwise, would focus formidable domestic and international pressure on any foreign government contemplating invasion. If Nicaragua will have them, the time for recruiting brigades of international supporters is now.

Apparently President Reagan believes that the U.S. mercenaries fighting for the *contras* in Nicaragua are no different from the members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the volunteers from through-

out the world who fought against Franco. The absurdity of this comparison was pointed out by Bob Reed, et al., (ITT, Nov. 14). Unfortunately, the legal ramifications for U.S. citizens choosing to participate in an international force are a little more serious and complex than Reagan envisioned—especially if an invasion is launched by the U.S. itself. However, unilateral aggression by the administration would violate U.S. and international laws and thereby render citizen resistance legally defensible.

—Mike Rawson
Oakland, Calif.

CORRESPONDENT

I HAVE BEEN A LETTER WRITER FOR 10 years, during which I have written hundreds of letters. The *Miami News* allowed me entry into their paper about 10 times. The *Federal Times* two times. The *Miami Herald* twice. *U.S. News & World Report* one. The *Dayton Daily News* two times. And *In These Times* twice.

Except for *In These Times*, none of my left-wing subscriptions has ever given me the time of day. As you know, it is a great encouragement for us to see our words in print. It gives us the impression that we do have voices of some consequence. *Sojourners*, the most honorable Christian publication in America, has written back to me and has been faithful to reply. In fact, it was their referral that caused me to buy your newspaper. *The Progressive* at least sends you a computer response, as does the *National Review* and the *Atlantic*. The rest of them don't even acknowledge you are alive, especially *Mother Jones*, who I have written regularly since 1975. I have never received a single reply or response to my statements.

Somehow I knew you would give us "little guys" the time of day. Please excuse my frustration and my temper. I loved the evangelical satire by Carlene B. Hill. Real it is.

—Aaron M. Farris
Dayton, Ohio

DOSE

YOUR EDITORIAL (ITT, JAN. 9) STATING the Soviet Union is neither expansionist nor aggressive shows either complete ignorance of history or a healthy dose of old-left apologism. Everyone knows the Soviets invaded four countries since the end of WWII—East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and now Afghanistan. Also, probably not known to everyone, are the partial and complete annexations that occurred during and after the war: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland, Japan, Germany and Poland. I think these facts speak much louder than your

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

editorial writer's psychoanalysis of the Soviet ruling elite.

—John Rogers
Palo Alto, Calif.

Editor's note: Psychoanalysis is not our thing. We recognized the occupation of Eastern Europe in our editorial, but pointed out that this was 40 years ago, and a part of the post-war division of European spheres of influence, seen by the Soviets as a buffer against traditional aggression from the West.

PARALLELS

READING KATE ELLIS' ARTICLE (ITT, NOV. 14) on the strange "unholy alliance" of WAP feminists and right-wing morality mongers at the Suffolk Co., N.Y., hearings on anti-porn laws, I was reminded of a relevant bit of history. In Europe, through the 19th century the Catholic Church maintained a papal list of "morally repugnant" and officially proscribed books. The works of the Marquis de Sade were never on that list. The works of thinkers like John Stuart Mill and Jean Jacques Rousseau were.

—Barbara Mor
Taos, N.M.

WORD POWER

PEOPLE TALK ABOUT LABOR AND MANAGEMENT. Actually there are three forces: labor, management and ownership. Labor and management both consist of employees. Owners are those who do the employing. Owners are sovereign; labor and management are subject.

The great majority of the American people are employees (not "workers," which suggests blue-collar workers only), and the slogan "employees' power" will for once appeal to a natural majority rather than a more or less artificial coalition of minorities aiming for 50 percent. (In fact the slogan may become disgustingly popular as the employers try to turn it into something more mickey mouse than intended.) These two little words could be

the bridge to a new society in what is now one of the twin heartlands of imperialism.

—Marvin Garson
Los Angeles

PROMOS

THANKS FOR YOUR INFORMATIVE ARTICLE on the display of products in films (ITT, Dec. 19). I noticed that your examples came primarily from "kids' films": *Superman*, *Star Wars*, etc. I well remember seeing Coors beer in the *E.T.* fridge. But, I also remember it in Jeff Bridges' hand in *Silkwood*. It's easier to accept this trend in basically harmless movies. I'm more bothered by the long arm of Joe Coors in a semi-serious, quasi-political movie.

—Garth Massey
Laramie, Wyo.

CORRECTION

Due to a production error in "Vatican backlash hits nuns' independence on abortion" (ITT, Jan. 9), one line was omitted. The sentence should have read: "Some, like Traxler and Judy Vaughan, have worked with poor and abused women and see the insurmountable odds they face in a society that leaves them leftovers."

CORRECTION

For those who read Pat Aufderheide's comment on *One from the Heart*—in her review of *Cotton Club* (ITT, Jan. 9)—with some bemusement, be at ease. The reference to that film as "a finer exercise" should have been "a finger exercise." We apologize to our readers, and to Pat for this egregious error.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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PERSPECTIVES

Regan's tax plan will be whittled away

By Frank C. Genovese

THERE IS AN OVERWHELMING consensus that the surprising proposals for tax reform and simplification put forth by Secretary of the Treasury Donald Regan will not be substantially enacted. This may seem strange since there is broad praise for them from professional economists and public interest groups. Indeed, few Americans would disagree with the opening sentences in the careful three-volume report, which state and justify the proposals that "the present income tax is badly in need of fundamental simplification and reform. It is too complicated, it is unfair and it interferes with economic choices and retards saving, investment and growth."

But the pessimism appears justified by history. President Kennedy began his term with a call for both a tax decrease and tax reform but quickly settled for just the decrease. President Carter called the system "a disgrace," and even paid more taxes than he was legally obligated to. This was a welcome change from Richard Nixon, who signed a false tax return, but Carter made no significant effort to reform the tax structure. And now we have the reputed President of Business and the Rich, proposing a plan that would increase corporate taxes, decrease those paid by individuals and even rearrange individual taxes so the

rich would pay a significantly larger percentage of their incomes to the IRS.

But the true morality of this president may be indicated by the fact that he continues to collect a pension from California while serving as president in spite of Article I, Section I, Part 6, which states, "and he shall not receive...any other emolument from the United States or any of them." Thus there is great skepticism as to the extent and sincerity of his support for the proposals. He did not put them forth eagerly before the election. His device of avoiding the issue by having a study made did produce them, but he then left their presentation to Treasury Secretary Donald Regan. This can be defended on the basis that the study was done by the Treasury and Regan is more capable of presenting them and answering questions regarding them than is the president. But the president may just be playing a waiting game to gauge public reaction. And there is the possibility that he can increase his bargaining chips in Congress to take the blame for any tax increases and any cutting of programs, such as Social Security, which, during the election campaign he publicly promised would not be cut. There is universal agreement in both parties in Congress that taxes will have to be raised in spite of any budget cuts. Sen. Robert Dole, leader of the Republican Senate, plans to introduce a budget on February 1 rather than wait, as is usual, for the president's, which will arrive on Febru-



I USED TO GIVE IT ALL TO THE POOR UNTIL I HEARD REAGAN MIGHT ELIMINATE CHARITABLE DEDUCTIONS...

ary 4. This will be a chance for Congress to "force" the president into agreeing to the tax increase he should be advocating.

It is reasonable to expect that we will get something called "tax reform" that will contain some features of the proposal such as lower rates and fewer brackets, and will be more inclusive of income than our present law. But some of the features that could hurt business income and recovery—the tightening up on depreciation rules—will be scratched from the bill. Fairness will suffer. Nor will there be a great gain in simplification, since in tightening up the rules regarding deductions more exacting record-keeping rules will apply.

One wonders if the relatively slight tightening up on the deductibility of interest—your single mortgage plus \$5,000—will survive, given that the political action committee of the National Association of Realtors outstripped all other PACs in contributions during the last campaign. At most, the provision should imply that instead of the rich owning several properties they should continually upgrade their housing. Newport may be in for a revival. But the removal of this subsidy to realtors and bankers would seem to come at a bad time for banking, and that plus their enormous influence might serve to secure the dropping of this reform. Even if we find it hard to accept as a total truth, we must understand at least as a partial truth Sen. Kennedy's comment that "We have the best government money can buy!"

There are momentous questions involved in proposals such as the limitation of the deductibility of charitable contribution to amounts over 2 percent of adjusted gross income. Private American universities have long dedicated their efforts to please rich people who have benefited from the status quo and want to see this type of economic organization continued. Removing one of their principal means of support—tax-deductible gifts to assuage the guilt and vanity of the rich—would create a need for public funding and possibly a different orientation

in what they pass on to their students. Bourgeois homiletics might yield to critical examination of the general well-being of the population. This proposal will be scrapped.

The Reagan administration has proven itself far more adept at public relations than at economic policy. Its aim in its first term was to balance the budget. It supported a balanced budget amendment under which it surely could not have functioned, nor racked up the greatest deficits in the history of the country. Now Reagan will be able to point out that when he took office the top personal tax rate was 70 percent. It is now 50 percent, and the proposal is to reduce it to 35 percent.

In the summer of '81, rates—including the top—were cut about 25-27 percent all down the scale. This enormous cut, the root of our present dangerous deficit problem, went into effect in three stages, the last 10 percent as of July 1, 1983. And with the January introduction of indexation—adjustment upward of tax brackets to reflect inflation—this cut looms even larger. The inflationary potential of the '81 cuts forced the Federal Reserve Board of Governors to allow interest rates to skyrocket and the economy to fall into the deepest downturn since the '30s. The pace of the decline was so abrupt that the Board could relent in sufficient time to allow the economy to bounce back with unaccustomed and sufficient vigor to secure Reagan's re-election. Score Reagan with one unnecessary bounce in the economy. No wonder he finds the Council of Economic Advisors unpleasant to deal with, especially when they are so professional as to forget that it is their task to find economically plausible reasons for what it is the President wishes to do. They should understand that adroit public relations and re-election are far more important than the economic well-being of the country. This is a lesson for us all.

Frank C. Genovese is professor of economics at Babson College.

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By Harold Baron

This is the first of a two-part series.

POLITICS IS ALIVE AND WELL in the cities of Italy. This robustness is rooted in an integral sense of public life—unlike American politics, which is limited to media events, single issues and pocketbook advantages. But the health report does not hold at the national level.

During the past decade there has been an immobilizing stalemate in the political life of advanced capitalist nations—North America, Western Europe, Japan. Beneath the rhetoric, France's Socialist Mitterrand pursues a policy in many ways similar to Britain's Conservative Thatcher. The difference has been whether the stalemate is governed by the left, right or center. National Italian politics has been no exception. But in Italian urban centers political ingenuity is at work trying to formulate alternatives to the crises of our times. Local elections scheduled for next spring will test this development and see if it can gain momentum.

Chicago politics brought about my invitation to visit with government and political figures in nine Italian cities. They were anxious to compare notes because of my involvement in shaping issue and planning strategies for Mayor Harold Washington in Chicago.

New society in the womb of the old.

Reggio Emilia in northern Italy has the reputation of being "the buckle of the Red Belt." This industrial city of 120,000, capital of a 400,000-inhabitant province, has been a socialist stronghold since before World War II, and has had a left government for 40 years. In the '50s the Christian Democratic national government penalized the area by shutting down the large scale state enterprises located there. The response was to build a modern non-corporate economy, based on the agricultural strengths of the region. Today four Reggiano food processing firms, all co-ops, are among the 50 largest in this Italian industry. The country's third largest construction operation is a Reggio-based cooperative that functions as an umbrella for 75 member co-ops.

One-third of the provincial labor force works in artisan establishments, enterprises with 10 or fewer employees and a working proprietor. Twelve thousand of the 18,000 establishments belong to the left artisan association. The Reggio section of this organization has a \$7 million annual budget and employs 230 persons. Among its services to members are marketing, financing, data processing and lobbying.

Even the president of the city's federation of small and medium industrialists is a member of the Communist Party. When asked how that could come about, he replies, "That is one of the mysteries of the Italian politics."

In the grand old renaissance palace that is city hall, Mayor Ugo Benassi discusses two major themes—"economic development" and "preserving the social fabric of society." Economic growth is not a goal in itself, but is pursued to generate employment, with special concern for placing young people in their first jobs. The mayor emphasizes confrontation with technological change. Since Reggio exports half of its industrial production; there is no way to wall it off from international competition. Therefore, "requalifying the work force to operate with the most advanced technology" is Benassi's priority, an approach that is more than simply a drive for productivity. His economic considerations are not separated from his questions regarding democracy—who is included in the decisions? who defines the process?

While this Communist mayor does not try to ignore conditions imposed by the market, he does not draw his standards from it. Benassi makes the point, "We want to grow in quality, not quantity."

A new approach to politics is forming in the cities of Italy

"Qualifying workers is not just a matter of production, for we also have to maintain high standards in education and culture." When some of the larger industrialists proposed an expansion program that would have required the importation of 10,000 workers, they were refused the requisite zoning. The city administration favors a more organic form of growth and supports aid to development in southern Italy where most of the workers would have come from.

Forty miles away, Bologna, a city of half a million, is a leader in the policy of transformation without rupture. Its medieval and renaissance core has been lovingly restored at great expense. To prevent further decay through air pollution, the heart of this historic area is largely out of bounds to auto traffic. The city plans to keep the current population its maximum, with additional growth to take place in satellite towns.

Bologna's left government is supportive of private and cooperative enterprise. Its concern for rationality and the provision of efficient services stands in stark contrast to *clientilismo*, the patronage-style administration that characterizes most Christian Democratic governments. A local industrialist spokesman rather reluctantly points out: "In non-Marxist cities you have no planning. Therefore, a firm cannot project well into the future."

Bologna has played a pioneering role in strengthening neighborhoods and decentralizing city government. Twenty years ago under the guise of an obscure 19th-century law, they divided the city into 18 districts and established advisory councils that were originally appointed, but are now elected. In recent years these councils have become mandatory for all

The Communist vice mayor of Genoa recognizes that the transformation to a service economy means a decline in the proportion of blue-collar workers. If his party defends only the interests of that group, he says, it will lose its influence.

PERSPECTIVES

large cities. Bologna is now moving on to the question of how to devolve actual decision-making authority over matters like local social services.

Governing the transformation.

The Region of Umbria to the north of Rome and west of Florence has a reputation as a seat of left thought and strategy. In the '60s Pietro Ingrao, a leading Communist, represented this area in parliament and formulated the idea of unity between the popularly-oriented Catholics, especially the workers, and the PCI as a viable alternative to the traditional goal of a united front of the Socialist and Communist parties. Ingrao's strategy emphasizes localism and initiatives among the local population, rather than national parliamentary maneuvering.

Claudio Carnieri, regional secretary of the PCI, is preparing the first draft of a campaign program for the spring local elections. As he describes the project, his key terms are "govern the process of innovation" and "democracy." Carnieri states, "The major goal is to deal with the technological requalification of the economy by facing the problem as a whole instead of one company at a time." He proceeds to list a string of planning, fiscal and managerial supports that have been developed by Umbrian regional and municipal governments in the last decade.

An organic sensibility comes through in his words about "building technology upon the experience of the standing labor force." Democracy is taken up with the question of "who will define the future?" A left initiative does not mean just electing a coalition to office or having left-wing managers and technicians in key positions. When Carnieri speaks of a working-class role in planning, he specifies "not just as an interest group but also as a political subject"—or in American English, not only as a competing interest group, but also as an active participant in formulating plans.

The Umbrian approach to the working class' role emphasizes negotiations and contractual arrangements, rather than formal representation on the boards of directors, as in the case of German co-management. Protocols are being developed between the unions and the regional government on labor market policy. Legislation requires every firm to have development plans, and unions are playing a role in this process by making development accords a part of their contracts.

The Umbrian project sets the goal of "making the region a laboratory of technological development with democracy." One meaning of this is the structuring of roles to include all the various social forces. Some of the plans are vague. Sometimes democracy and populism seem to be overshadowed by technique. But one never loses a sense of urgency about the research for a non-corporate, non-statist way to shape the future.

In the northwest, the port city of Genoa is addressing similar problems. However, in keeping with its ancient traditions as a commercial city republic, it formulates the issues in more pragmatic language.

As an industrial and maritime city of a million, Genoa faces a deindustrialization crisis similar to that of the rustbelt in the

U.S. The big state-owned steel mill is laying off thousands of workers. Shipbuilding and electrical equipment are stagnant industries. But popular response to this situation is vigorous. A year ago, announcement of a cutback in steel brought about a one-day general strike, the largest since World War II, and a demonstration by 100,000.

Vice Mayor Gambolati relates that when the steel layoffs were announced, their review of the situation suggested two alternatives: "occupy the mill or govern the struggle." Rather than defending jobs by trying to halt economic restructuring, they chose the latter. He asks, "What are the economic choices and how do we make them?" He partially answers, "Democracy means making hard choices on the basis of popular consensus."

As a Communist, Gambolati freely admits that the transformation to a service economy means that their traditional blue-collar worker base is becoming a smaller proportion of the population. He argues, "If our party only defends the immediate interests of this group, we will become a diminishing political factor and have less ability to determine our destiny." So they strive to involve other social and political forces.

A Christian Democratic city.

Almost due north of Reggio, on the other side of the Po River, is the industrial city of Brescia. The inhabitants refer to the area as a "white province." Mayor Cesare Trebeschi, an independent elected on the Christian Democratic slate, is a person at once profoundly Catholic and at ease with the initiatives emanating from cities with left governments. Differences appear in emphasis.

While the Marxist left stresses economic rationalism and evidences an eagerness to prove its capacity to be competitive in the international economy, Trebeschi's discussion reveals a higher priority on maintaining a range of mediating institutions in society. The organic natures of Catholic social thought is evident, but he stresses the theme of social justice rather than hierarchy. The mayor of Brescia warns against the development of a permanent political class as hindering democracy: "A lifetime specialization in politics by some tends to make the remainder of the population passive." Therefore, he urges circulation between political life and civil society. After 12 years in office, Trebeschi plans to make this move himself next year.

The mayor and his close allies from the Italian Christian Workers Association are concerned about maintaining industrial viability as the weight of the economy shifts toward services. Plans include a strategy tying the production of threatened small machine shops with the modernization of regional agriculture. Their cooperatives look for major growth through contracting to perform social services now done by government personnel. The state would supply support for Catholic charitable concerns and get a cheaper cost through supplements of voluntary work. This is not the way the Communists would cut the issue, but it is not out of the realm of dialog. A Communist union leader at Fiat was emphatic about his respect for Trebeschi. He adds, "Often I think we should give him our votes as he is better than some of the people we put up."

Mayor Trebeschi strongly believes that political initiative is shifting to the local level, and that this is a European, not just an Italian phenomenon. He cites the fact that in the recent Italian elections to the European parliament mayors almost uniformly ran ahead of their party slates. Italian Communists seem to be coming to the same conclusion.

Harold Baron was research director for Harold Washington's mayoral election campaign.

Love, Anarchy, and Emma Goldman

By Candace Falk
Holt, Rinehart and Winston,
603 pp., \$25

Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life

By Alice Wexler
Pantheon Books, 339 pp.,
\$19.95

By Mari Jo Buhle

Emma Goldman issued the preeminent challenge to her biographers: two finely crafted, thick volumes of unusually reflective memoirs. Written in the late '20s, nearly a decade after her deportation from the U.S., Goldman's massive autobiography, *Living My Life*, bears the imprint of isolation and disillusionment but conveys nevertheless the famed anarchist's inplacable sense of self. The aging woman looked past blighted hopes and managed to recreate for her readers the idealism and passion of her youth.

She tempered invectives against factional rivals, toned down her bitterness at the Bolshevik triumph, and stifled her despair over the gloomy fate of anarchism in both her mother country and distant adopted land. Knowing all too well that history had disappointed her, Goldman located the necessary transcendent heroism not in the revolutionary struggle but in her own life.

Goldman explained her intention to longtime friend Hutchins Hapgood: "I want the events of my life to stand out in bold relief from the social background in America and the various events that helped to make me what I am," she wrote, "a sort of conjunction between my own inner struggle and the social struggles outside." To a large degree she succeeded. Among the autobiographies produced by her radical women contemporaries, Goldman's work stands out.

Whereas Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Ella Reeve Bloor fashioned life-and-times tales, wherein the subject fades imperceptibly into the heroic struggles of "the masses" and their leaders, Goldman placed at the narrative center her own existential conflicts. Uniquely modern in its intimacy and intensity of emotion, the autobiography set the standard for future scholars.

Goldman's most recent biographers accept her version of history, especially the importance of her own role. Candace Falk and Alice Wexler state more explicitly that the personal is indeed political, but they essentially

fill in the details of the psychological portrait sketched first by Goldman herself.

Wexler does move beyond the personal to enlarge the context of Goldman's political development in *Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life*. She describes carefully the revolutionary fervor of Young Russia and of Chicago in the 1880s; the intellectual and sexual awakening of turn-of-the-century women; and the excitement of avant-garde art and literature that fed Goldman's radical vision. But the "facts," however well researched and assembled, stand stiffly on Wexler's pages and fail to blend with the more familiar descriptions of the subject's overpowering personality. As a result of this disjunction in the text, the attention of the reader rivets not on Wexler's careful documentation of Goldman's milieu but on the author's psychological musings.

Both Wexler and Falk add layers of interpretation to Goldman's original self-analysis. Wexler claims, for example, that Goldman's "sense of responsibility for the suffering of others" was first piqued by the childhood death of her brother. Little Emma felt guilty for surviving and pledged to make reparations. Wexler speculates, "by becoming the greatest rescuer and mother of all children." Candace Falk avoids the predictive side of psychology but probes even deeper into the inner dimensions of the adult anarchist in *Love, Anarchy, and Emma Goldman*. Ultimately, both biographers focus on the sexual side of this remarkable personality.

A handsome brute.

Their stories center on Goldman's 10-year affair with Ben L. Reitman, a Chicago physician, tramp and self-styled radical. As Goldman admitted in her autobiography, she simply could not resist the charms of this "handsome brute." At their first meeting in 1908 Reitman appeared "an exotic, picturesque figure, with a large cowboy hat, flowing silk tie, and huge cane." He soon introduced the 39-year-old anarchist to the "sublime madness of sex" and became the "Great Grand Passion" of her life.

Goldman admired Reitman's disregard for the rules of polite society. She lovingly described him as "unspoiled, untrained and utterly lacking in artifice." Yet Reitman's discordant behavior among her friends embarrassed her. Profanity riddled his con-

versations. His table manners were disgusting. Once on a lecture tour, when they were guests of a respectable couple, Reitman shocked the entire household by coming stark naked to the breakfast table. While the private Goldman found even his dirty fingernails appealing—his



Anarchist Emma Goldman's sex letters are hardly opaque.

Emma Goldman: the private side of living her life

course hands fascinated her—the renowned intellectual preferred to distance herself from Reitman's disturbing presence.

man, who loved to have sex with women and, as he liked to confess, he did so at every opportunity. Goldman, the professed free lover, did not adapt easily to Reitman's habitual indulgences. Failing to suppress her jealousy, she lectured her wayward lover on the philosophical difference between love freely given and sexual promiscuity. When Reitman refused to accept her transparently self-serving arguments, or when she became too exasperated to cope, she simply vowed to end the affair. But such determination could not counteract Reitman's magnetic personality, his sensual attraction. Goldman kept coming back.

ated to cope, she simply vowed to end the affair. But such determination could not counteract Reitman's magnetic personality, his sensual attraction. Goldman kept coming back.

Like Goldman, Wexler and Falk consider the discrepancies between her political views and

her feelings. But whereas Goldman held back the most revealing evidence, her modern biographers lay out the intimate details of this most tempestuous affair.

The new information comes from Candace Falk's accidental discovery—Goldman's correspondence with Ben Reitman. In 1975, when visiting the Hyde Park neighborhood of Chicago, Falk brought her dog Emma into a local guitar shop. The proprietor responded unexpectedly to the name of her gregarious pet and remembered that he had come across some Goldman letters in the store's back room. Excusing himself briefly, he returned with a shoebox full of old letters signed "Mommy." The return address determined their origination: "E. Goldman."

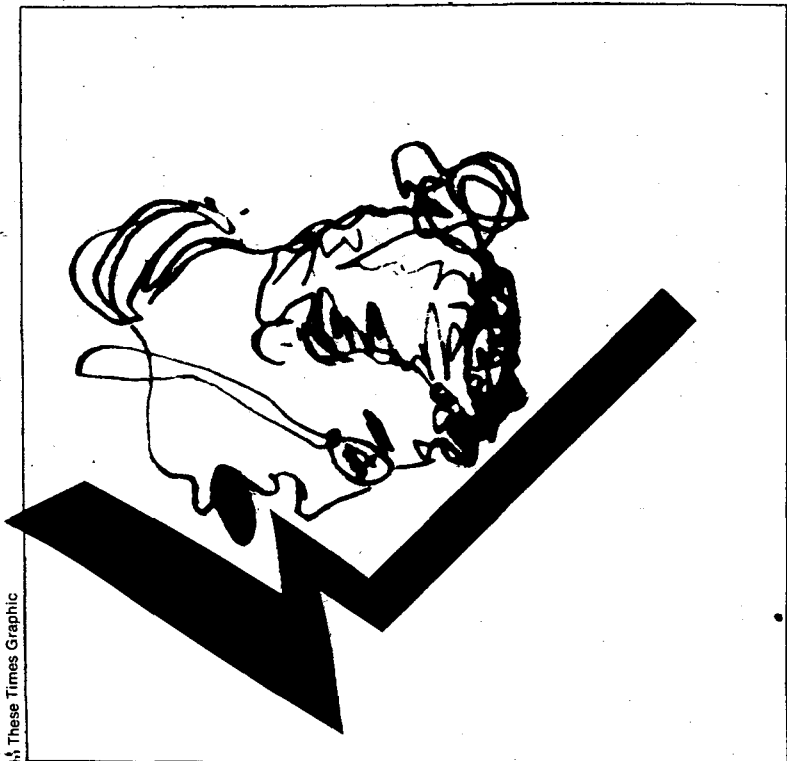
As Falk soon realized, the cache was comprised of more than 500 intimate letters from Goldman to her problematical lover. These rambling missives described many details of her travels, and also contained much passionate revelation of sexual bliss and agony. Falk paused to consid-

er the implications. Goldman herself had reviewed these letters just as she was preparing to write her life's story, had gone so far as to employ a secretary to transcribe them, but understandably backed away from such flagrant exhibitionism. "It is like tearing off my clothes," she wrote, returning them to Reitman, "to let them see the mad outpouring of my tortured spirit, the frantic struggle for my life, the all absorbing devotion each letter breathes. I can't do it!"

Falk first put the letters aside, faithful to Goldman's own wishes. When she learned, a year later, that the guitar-shop owner was selling the originals to a library, making them available to other researchers, she revived her original impulse to carve out a unique biography of sexual politics. While Wexler quotes selectively, Falk gives us lavish quantities of this remarkably candid correspondence.

The sex letters.

A little decoding is necessary because Goldman abbreviated some special words: t-b for treasure box, m for mountains, and W for Willie. The meaning is hardly opaque. In 1910, for example, Goldman wrote to her lover, "the day seems unbearable if I do not talk to you. I would prefer to do something else to you, to run a red hot velvety [tongue] over W and the bushes, so Hobo would go mad with joy and ecstasy.... Oh, for one s— at that beautiful head of his, for



in These Times Graphic

one drink from that fountain of life. How I would press my lips to the fountain and drink every drop." She explained that the "t-b is full of red wine and waits for W___ to drink it all." "I wish you were here," she yearned, "to hold me in your arms, to fondle the m and kiss the t-b leisurely until she yields her jewels." She sometimes wrote more directly: "I want to f___ you.... Ben Reitman, you are my precious treasure, my joy, my life's ecstasy. I wait for you in love and passion. Come. Mommy."

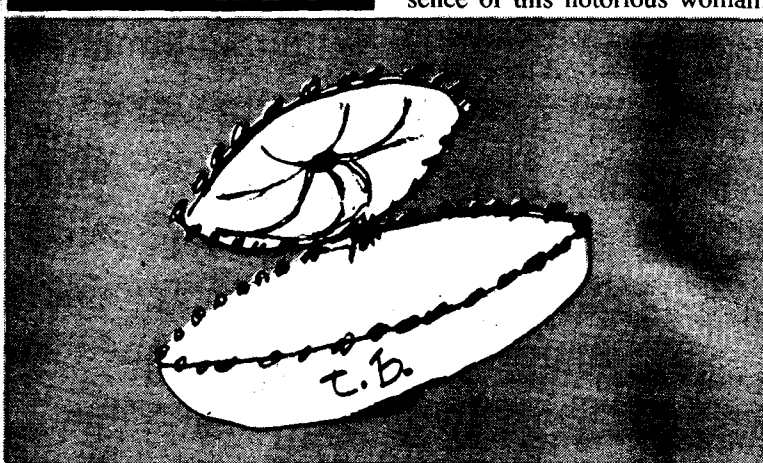
The letters reveal a passion for more than the merely physical. Goldman expressed equally strongly her longings for love and companionship and even such conventional desires as "husband, children and a home." The letters proclaim an emotional reliance on Reitman. "Hobo! Hobo! Hobo! What have you done to me? Why have you crept into my bones and blood? Hobo you drive me mad with longing," she confesses. In the next breath she asks rhetorically, "Why did

ality, and she was well aware of its significance. Like her possessive feelings toward Reitman, her dependence on men troubled her greatly. Falk contends that Goldman recognized this contradiction between her private and public lives, and further, that she assigned her disappointments to the imperfect world within which she, the impossible visionary, lived.

Whereas Goldman chose to hide her despair from the public, to suppress her feelings and reveal only the heroic side, her modern biographers make her personal disappointments the central metaphor of her life. Wexler is quick to point out, however, that this new emphasis on Goldman's vulnerability does not diminish the legend of her greatness but instead deepens an appreciation of her struggle.

These biographies do compel the reader to ask questions generally considered unanswerable about sexual relations at the turn of the century. Was Goldman unusual in recognizing and acting

Emma's love letters form the basis of these biographies and reveal her sexual passion as well as her contradictory public and private self.



In These Times Graphic

Goldman, who heard Freud lecture on at least two occasions, was well acquainted with the rudiments of psychoanalytic theory and tells her story in her autobiography as a continuous struggle to heal the rift in a fractured ego. Sexuality necessarily plays a large part, as do early childhood experiences. "The first sensations I remember had come to me when I was about six," she informs her readers. Goldman describes her mother's forceful, absolute prohibition of autoarousal. She relates other "childhood tortures," especially her starvation for affection from an unresponsive mother and a sometimes brutal father. These early experiences affected her adult relations with men, which in turn impinged on her political affairs. Goldman thus poured her life into a textbook mold, explaining that she was driven to seek the impossible in both private and public realms—security as well as autonomy.

Goldman found the melodramatic model for this self-study of martyrdom in the Russian literature she loved so much. Like the nihilist antihero, her protagonist at once the revolution-ary martyr persecuted for her ideals and the victim of her own desires for freedom in an unfree society. Writing in exile, a victim of government persecutions, she opens the story of her life, not with her birth, but with her social awakening at the Haymarket Tragedy.

Wexler and Falk recognize, to varying degrees, the mythic elements at work in Goldman's presentation, including her reliance on psychoanalytic theory and on traditions of martyrdom in Russian radical culture. They realize, too, that the Goldman of the autobiography was the artistic creation of a very talented writer. Ultimately, however, they relinquish their interpretive role to the authority of Goldman's own constructions.

Perhaps most troubling is the acceptance at face value of Goldman's letters to Reitman. Although Wexler notes that ex-

pressions of dominance and dependence run through all Goldman's writings, neither she nor Falk seems to consider the possibility that Goldman employed literary conventions not only in telling her life's story but in stirring her lover's imagination.

Goldman certainly depended on Reitman for a variety of services. During the 10 years of their relationship—not incidentally her most productive in literature and in stage performances—Reitman managed her career. One of Wexler's most engaging chapters recounts Reitman's brilliant manipulation of local media during Goldman's tours, casually leaking information about the impending presence of this notorious woman,

agitating police and swelling audiences. In her autobiography Goldman gave ample credit to Reitman, noting how unusual it was for a man to put aside his own ambitions for those of the woman he loved.

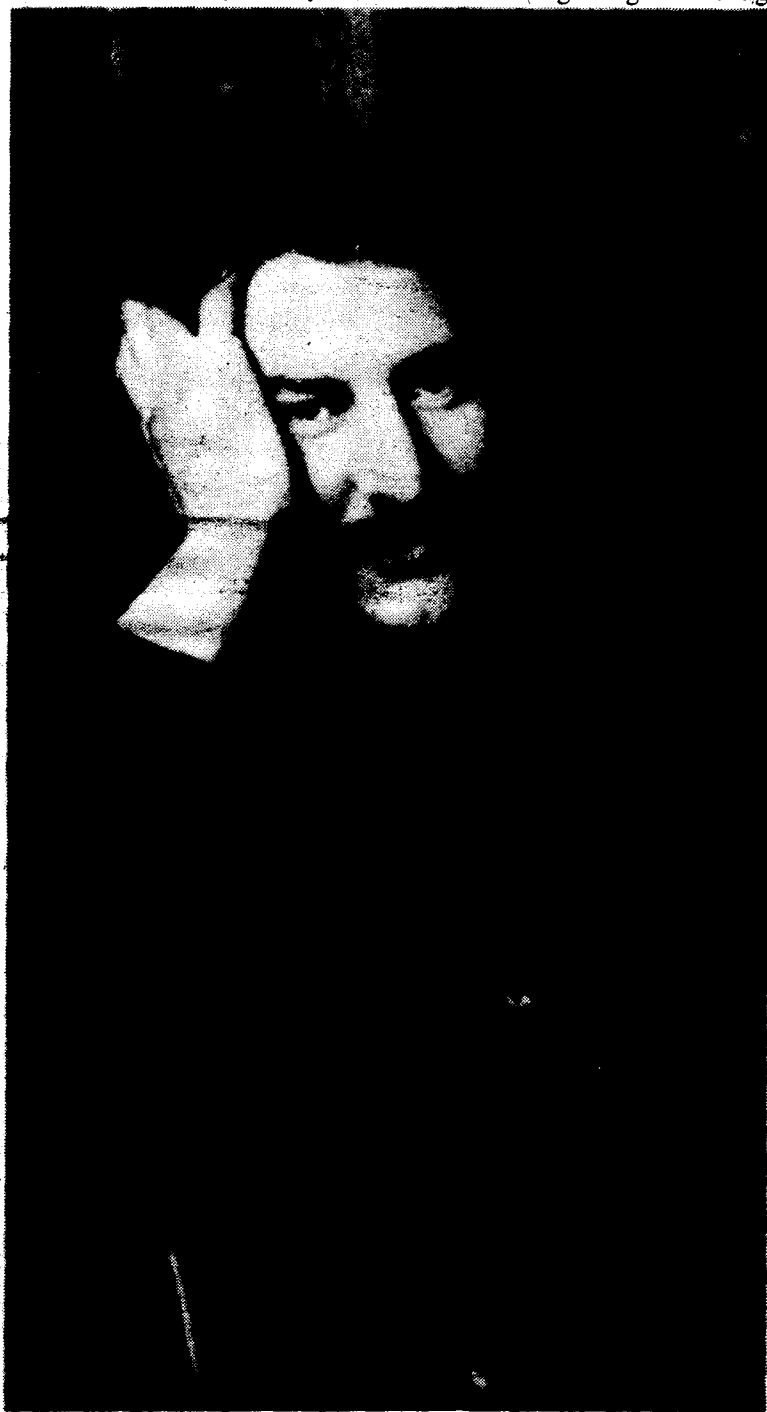
Reitman's unique qualities did not end there. A promised forthcoming biography may (or may not) dwell on his apparent oedipal complex. Obviously Gold-

man, his surrogate "Mommy," gratified needs no less pressing in him than in her. How much in her letters speaks to his fantasies rather than hers is a matter of speculation.

In any case, the letters between Goldman and Reitman raise more questions than the biographers have yet answered. Should we read Goldman's passionate murmurings as truth or fantasy, innocent or calculated? Can we draw a sharp line between her expressions of physical desire and her outpourings of emotional dependence? Do we read the former as erotic, the latter as psychological? Inasmuch as domination is a central motif in the sexual fantasy of Western culture, should we consider Goldman unusual in her professed desires? Can we—more important, should we—expect Goldman's sexual preferences to conform to her political ideas?

These new biographies force us to think about such matters. Their principal contribution, a reading of the Goldman-Reitman correspondence, opens the door to a new critical analysis of the great anarcho-feminist. But we may appreciate the authors' work without accepting their conclusions. Perhaps we need to judge the Goldman letters first of all as writings by an early 20th-century, avant-garde woman. In so doing, we would reject the tyranny of the *Logos* and begin the search for less obvious but yet more subversive elements in the text.

Mari Jo Buhle is the compiler of *Women and the American Left: A Guide to Sources and the author of *Women and American Socialism*.*



Ben Reitman introduced Emma to the "sublime madness of sex" and was her "grand passion."

I make myself dependent on you to that extent, on you of all men in my life. One so fickle, so irresponsible, so moody, so cruel." Feelings progress from desire and love, to resentment and anger, to guilt and humiliation.

Falk and Wexler both underscore the masochistic and submissive elements in Goldman's relationship with Reitman. Wexler speculates that Goldman's love-starved childhood drove her to demand loyal affection from those around her, and she forced them to comply by rousing feelings of guilt. Whatever their cause, Goldman's sense of desperation figured prominently in her person-

upon her desires? Do her references to "sexual inversion" suggest a growing public consciousness of homosexuality and lesbianism? If Reitman managed to bed hundreds of women, if he often did so with few preliminaries, how commonplace was casual sex at this time? Historians of sexuality will find ample material for speculation.

But once the juicy passages are put aside, does Goldman's life appear in new form? The authors certainly devote more space to romance than Goldman did in her autobiography. They speculate more concertedly on the psychological dimensions of her political views and behavior. But they contribute in the end a new emphasis rather than a greatly changed perspective.

Talking Back

By the Public Media Center, 25 Scotland St., San Francisco, CA 94133, (415) 434-1403, 158 pp., \$12.00

Democracy, like much of life, is subject to the garbage-in, garbage-out rule. An uninformed public makes poor decisions. The nation's founders knew that; that's why we have the First Amendment. The 1934 Communications Act acknowledged that, too, when it made owners of broadcast media trustees for their listeners (and, eventually, their viewers). As trustees, broadcasters are accountable to the public, but most people don't know it. That is why the Public Media Center, a public-interest advertising firm, has published *Talking Back*. The elegantly produced book explains what your rights are, especially in regards to the Fairness Doctrine, which requires that broadcasters cover issues of public concern and cover them fairly. It lays out precedent, gives success stories, reproduces sample documents and provides phone numbers and addresses of resources and services and federal agencies. The important thing to remember, as they point out, is that no one will watch out for your rights for you, and that federal agencies are a last resort. In fact, the millions of dollars' worth of airtime on radio and TV that groups from nuclear-freeze to civil rights to environmental activists have won have largely been garnered in

private negotiations with station owners. Once the owners know you know the law, they often make room in paying schedules for public voices.

Pure War

By Paul Virilio and Sylvere Lotringer
Semiotext, 522 Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027, 175 pp., \$4.95

It is easy to be overly kind to any work of theory coming out of France today if it only sidesteps the swamps of deconstruction and neo-reaction. But by any standard, this is an original, engaging book. Taking the form of a conversation, it is a suggestive English-language introduction to the ideas of the prolific French urbanist, architect and theorist Paul Virilio. Much influenced by Christian anarchism, Virilio has developed the challenging argument that nuclear deterrence becomes a constant logistical preparation for holocaust, in effect a permanent state of war that allows military bureaucracies to "underdevelop" civilian economies in a process termed "endo-colonialization." *Pure War* brims with learning and with sparkling asides, on subjects ranging from Howard Hughes to Kampuchea. Virilio's analysis of speed and technology in modern politics, or rather in preventing meaningful political debate, ought to spark wide debate.

—D.R.
Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, Dave Roediger

ART»ENTERTAINMENT

By Pat Aufderheide

Director David Lean's style makes nature as pretty as a motion picture, and in *A Passage to India* it gives culture the same slightly waxed quality, as if everything were always in focus. This style is exactly wrong to portray a "muddle," as E.M. Forster described the common ground on which English colonialists and the peoples of India met during the late British Raj. But it is exactly right to win film critics' awards, as it already has, and to put it in top running for several Oscars.

David Lean is a master of anonymous sentiment. He here turns an experience of confusion and degradation, one transcended only by the social marginals of the period, such as homosexuals, political dissidents and mystics, into greeting-card emotion. But it's the highest quality of greeting card we get, the kind you can send to an affluent relative to whom you have nothing to say.

In the film, as in the book, the good intentions of individuals conflict with the constraints of colonialism, and disaster ensues. A nice English girl, Adela (Judy Davis), comes out to India to visit her fiancé, attended by her fiancé's mother, Mrs. Moore (Peggy Ashcroft). Not content with the stale life of the English compound, she complains, "I want to see the real India."

When Mrs. Moore, a woman blessed with spiritual grace, makes friends with a Muslim doctor Aziz (Victor Banerjee), her opportunity arrives. Aziz is a product of British India, admiring of the West but resentful of his second-class status in the empire. Excluded even from ordinary social life among the English, he seizes on the chance to make human contact, offering to take Adela and Mrs. Moore to

visit a local scenic attraction, the Marabar caves.

But when Adela ends up alone with Aziz at the caves, something—we don't know what—goes terribly wrong and she flees, disheveled and frightened. Upon returning to an alarmed English community, she accuses him of attempted rape. Only the local teacher, Fielding (James Fox), a friend of Aziz, defends him. Although Aziz is finally freed when she retracts her testimony on the witness stand, the experience hardens their naivete into cynicism, and ostracizes them both from the Anglo-Indian world.

In the book, Aziz is propelled by the experience into support of pan-Indian nationalism—a notion created by the British Raj, the first time the subcontinent was ever unified politically—and into a Westernized idealization of Indian womanhood. He also retreats from Western culture, taking a job in a Hindu state. (The English never did manage to gain control of all regions.)

Fielding over the years becomes a conscientiously critical apologist for English rule. When they finally meet again, their confrontation exposes the limits that imperialism poses on friendship. "We shall drive every blasted Englishman into the sea," says Aziz, "and then...and then...you and I shall be friends."

Upscale colonialism.

The most obvious evidence of the gap between Lean's understanding of the subject matter of this tale and Forster's is that the movie—for which Lean wrote the script—omits the last realization. In its place is a muzzy scene of reconciliation in the exotically charming setting of Kashmir. Good hearts find each other in the prettiest of surroundings.

But Does He Come With Papers—

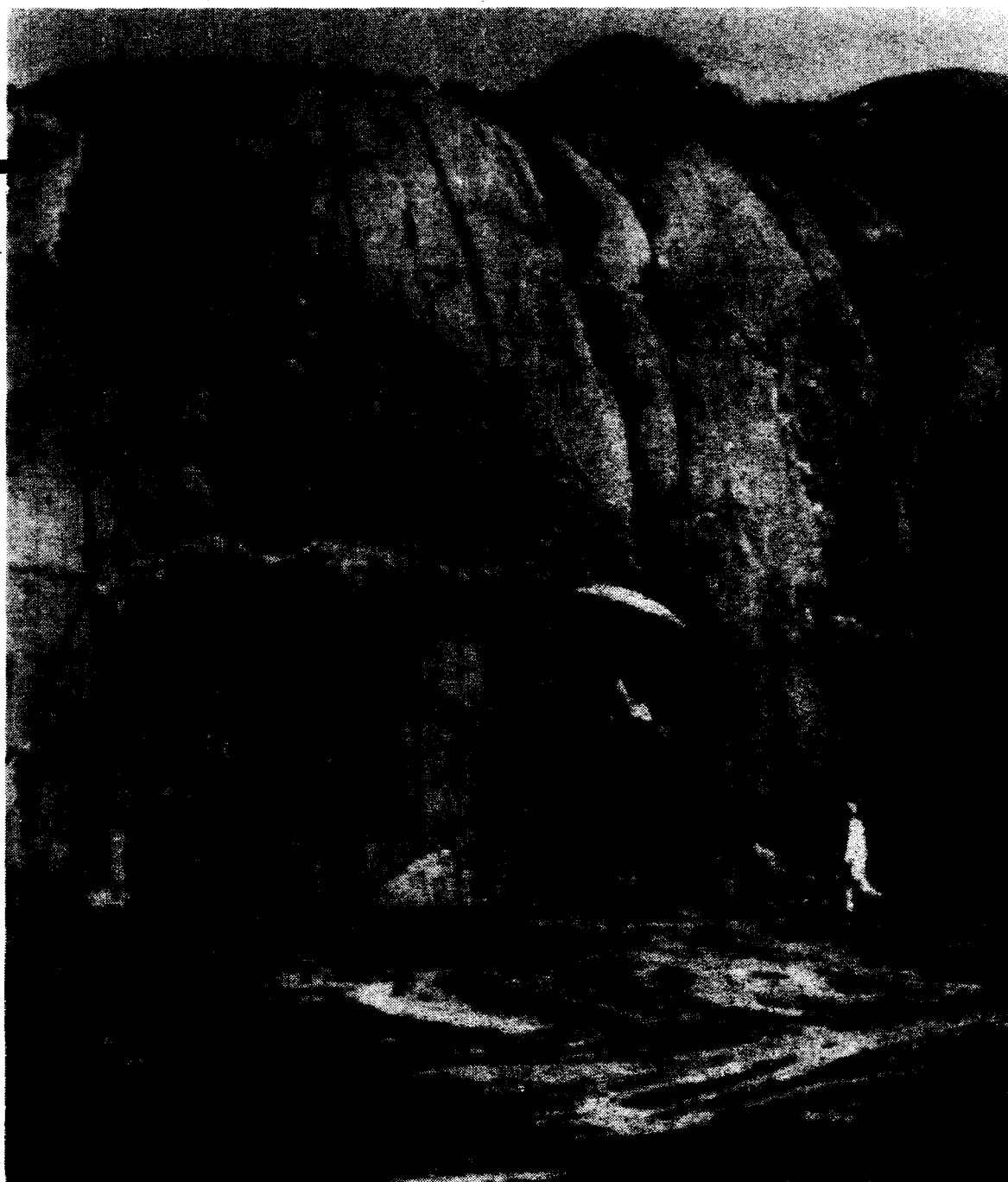
In apartheid-riven South Africa, the latest success in toy products that are spinoffs from TV shows is the doll of Mr. T., which has become a big hit among South African white kids, who also have made *The A-Team* a highly popular TV show.

They're Everywhere...

Another folk art—if graffiti and limericks qualify—is imperiled by marching consumerism. If an Australian innovation catches on here, advertisements will soon occupy wall space in toilet stalls of public washrooms.

Soggy Software

Following the creation of such computer software programs as "Barbie Computer Activity Toy" and "Attack of the Mutant Camels," comes a software program that's all wet. Called "Fishies," it creates an aquarium on the home computer screen. Bubbler not included.



But if you find textual comparisons a crude, even unfair measure of a film's quality, there is evidence in every scene that the rough edges have been rubbed off colonial conflict. In fact, the entire film looks burnished.

The English may be awful, but they are splendidly awful in their polo clothes and elegant pearls. Their club is luxuriant, wicker and wood contrasting nicely with gleaming white edifices. The most work governing India gives any of these people is deciding which social function to host or attend.

The movies typically portray one social class as living in a lifestyle one notch above it—look at all the supposedly middle-class Americans in the movies, who are living like upper-middle-class people. Here too we get an upscale version of colonial English life, one that fails entirely (unlike some sequences in *The Jewel in the Crown*) to capture the tacky hermeticism of colonial life that so exasperated George Orwell (*Burmese Days*) and Leonard Woolf (*The Village in the Jungle*), among other critics of the Raj.

In *A Passage to India*, the pretensions of English officials—typically claiming a higher status in the colonies than they had been born to—are subtly ratified, by giving their tight little universe a gracious aura and giving us their pomposity as spectacle. This is their world as they wished to see it. Indeed, just why Adela or even Fielding should so chafe among them is not patent, except that they are superior people, the kind suitable to be protagonists in a classy movie (the way some pictures are suitable for framing).

The touristic East.

On the other side of the cultural coin, the horrifying otherness of the many Indias—the cultural strangeness that so easily jus-

tified colonial might in the eyes of progress-proud Westerners—is nowhere in evidence. This East looks both quaint and inviting. When Indians are invited to a

old man in diapers who refuses to get involved.

Guinness balances aplomb and humor so adeptly that you have to enjoy the comic relief he pro-

The movie does not show the remotest understanding of E.M. Forster's theme, but it's good entertainment.

"bridge party" (that is, bridging the cultural gap), the splendidly sariied Indian ladies speak lucid English.

The Indian professionals in the film, mostly Muslims, are smartly tailored in Western dress and politely address political issues. Their regional and religious customs are mere frills, touristic color on a familiar base. The "real India" of this movie is a painted elephant on which Adela and Mrs. Moore ride.

In place of the horror that accompanies confrontation with the other, Lean offers some well-turned moments of embarrassment and discomfort. The party and lunch that lead up to the tension-filled trip to the caves are masterly essays in social unease. But awkward as they are, they give no clue to why the naive pursuit of "the real India" could be so dangerous.

The one baffling, truly inscrutable character is Godbole (Alec Guinness), who as written by Lean becomes a simple Eastern counterpart of Mrs. Moore. Both of them ride gracefully the spiritual forces that buffet the smaller and more human characters. Godbole, who in the novel is a constant reminder of the differences between Hindu and Muslim India, as well as a commentator on the distance between intention and event in human affairs, becomes here a harmless

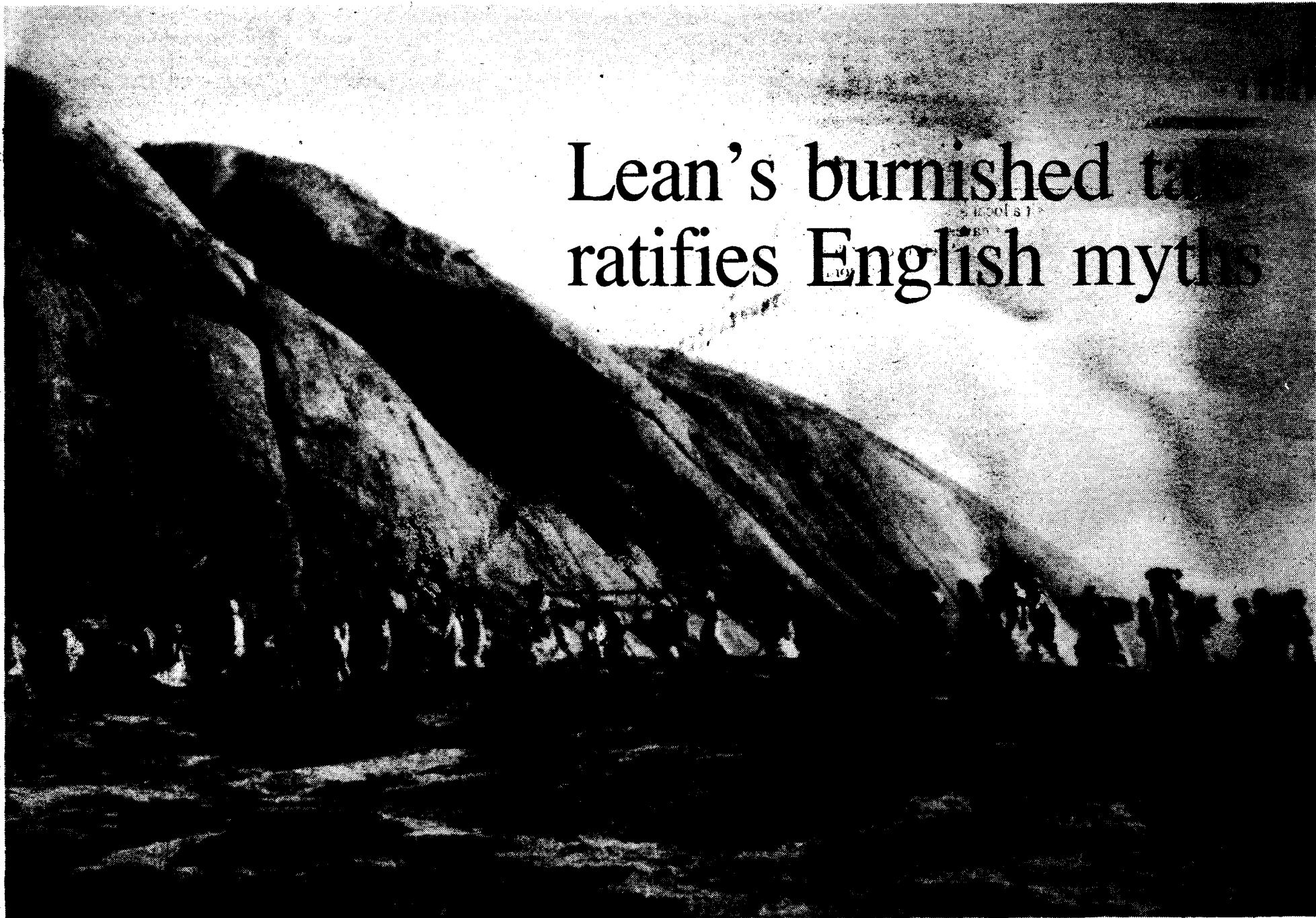
vides in what is a very serious movie indeed. What he cannot do is to bring to the role what Lean dropped out of it: the sense of cross-cultural opacity, the menace of the unknown.

This is a well-told tale, in the tradition of movie epics. Lean not only steers the story with consummate confidence, he combines all the elements in cinema into an audiovisual symphony. He is not reluctant to be flamboyant—consider the opening scenes of a full-dress official reception, replete with military uniforms and horses—or obvious. For instance, when Adela announces to her fiancé that she will not marry him, the visual correlative follows immediately. A polo rider at the match they are attending hits the dust. Bam!

At a time when directors with many millions of dollars behind them cannot find their way from one end to the other of a routine comedy, Lean's skill is not to be disparaged. But what he has done is to relocate the drama of the tale, from how something happened to what happened. This movie is about whether or not Adela was assaulted, whether or not Aziz will be freed, whether or not Aziz and Fielding will make up and be friends.

It is not about the creation of a self-poisoning colonial culture or the creation of a particular kind

Lean's burnished tale ratifies English myths



Columbia Pictures

of nationalism as a response to it. Lean admits that cheerfully, in his way, when he says as he did in the *New York Times* recently, "as a teller of stories,

Revelling in imperial romance, it also carries a message that takes the sting out of domination. Human nature, it asserts, is the same everywhere—once

are strongly invested in not inquiring into that process at a time when its existence is undeniable, these generalities can be pleasantly soothing.

Maybe Lean knew that, or maybe he was just lucky. At 76, Lean is the pro's pro at the kind of movie that Pauline Kael called "stately, respectable and dead" in a comment on his *Dr. Zhivago*. His 17-movie career has also included *The Bridge on the River Kwai* and *Lawrence of Arabia*, both notable for their spectacle and their ability to filter out the weird and leave in the romance of the exotic.

His success made him so fabulously wealthy that over the last 14 years, with three years off for making and finally abandoning a production of "Mutiny on the Bounty," he has been able to indulge his taste for the exotic without making films about it.

But he has been wanting to make *A Passage to India* since 1958. Forster, who died in 1970, never wanted a film of his work. He was convinced that a mass medium would not carry the perceptions the book had won from a position of marginality. (As a homosexual and a dissident intellectual of empire, Forster understood the challenge of his novel's perspective.) Commercial movies, after all, depend on finding a broad emotional consensus in the audience, and *A Passage to India* was a novel all about the cruelty of consensus among Anglo-Indians.

"Terrible respectability."

After Forster's death, his executors cautiously met with Lean, who agreed with them that a film made from the book could never be a mainstream film, and that a script by Santha Rama Rau was adequate basis for a film. But raising the financing also raised the ante. With eventual backing from HBO and Columbia Pic-

tures, among others, nobody was going to tell Lean not to do what he does best—the splendid epic.

Lean's long passion for *A Passage to India* seems unrelated to the concerns that drove Forster to write it. Lean, a lifelong rebel from what he calls the "terrible respectability" of the English middle class, in which as a child he was forbidden even to go to movies, has spent an adulthood cultivating the flip side of it—high romance. He could be a direct aesthetic descendant of the Orientalist landscape painters of the late 19th century, who painted deserts and harems for Western delectation.

Not for him the menacing otherness of the East. "I have always wanted to shoot a picture in India," he says. "I find the Indians absolutely charming." He intelligently chose to film in Bangalore, India's Minneapolis, a tidy little city whose local socialites were happy to bring out their antiques as props for the film.

But if Lean loves safe imperial romance, so do we. The British Raj has recently been the subject of several wildly successful productions in TV and movies, as well as of bestselling books. Most take place in the period that the English thought was the height of Anglo-Indian rule, after the 1911 ceremony making Delhi the colonial capital, a ceremony presided over by George V himself. But that was also the period in which Indian resistance reached crisis level, a time when the English each year became more embattled, more defensive and more hostile to the cultures of the subcontinent they governed.

There are unnerving parallels between the pinnacles of imperial power then there and now here. But these days an empire on the edge of decline lacks a suitable object, a cultural opposite. Eng-

land's power was political, and the empire could tangle with and divorce itself from formal colonies. The worldwide power centered in the U.S. is economic, social and political, registered in bank accounts, Coke sales and trade and arms agreements.

If power is informal, abstract and diffuse, so is its object. Our world is no longer divided neatly into nations and colonies, but into more and less "developed" nations. The forces opposing first world, and often American, dominance are as multiple and baffling as a Shi'ite soldier, a Latin American general paid off by cocaine dealers or a UN resolution that censures an American ally.

Our government may be able to resign from UNESCO, but we do not have the option of resigning from the world. If it's hard to put our finger on the relationships that first-world economic clout and U.S. government actions thrust upon us, it's still true that as a people we feel enmeshed in a history beyond our control.

Superpatriotism and attacks on "the evil empire" are one kind of solace, inventing a neat "us" and "them" in the absence of real-life polarities. Uneasy, nostalgic looks at other empires—whether in the ancient past or in a fanciful future—is another. For Americans, the British Raj is doubly romantic, since it tops our fascination with English royalty with our myths of the mystic Orient.

A Passage to India, David Lean-style, betrays canny awareness of the myth-pool it draws on. It recomposes the elements, but it does not, finally, challenge the fantasy. David Lean would make a most disturbing character in an E.M. Forster novel.

©Pat Aufderheide, 1985



Judy Davis and Victor Bunerjee portray two people caught between two cultures.

Forster isn't very hot. He is full of beguiling sidetracks that were a constant nightmare."

But if the movie does not show the remotest understanding of Forster's theme, it is also good entertainment. Handsomely mounted, well-told, with graceful performances and some superb crowd and animal scenes, it's higher-quality schlock than anything else from 1984. The movie is a box office success not only because it is majestic spectacle, but also because it does not disturb while serving up the exotic.

you make allowances for funny clothes, and agree that people should not be horrid to each other and that a touch of the spirit can be redemptive.

One disagrees with generalities like this at one's peril. Complaints about *A Passage to India* are likely to be seen as mean-spirited, or even elitist. But to agree with them is to lose even more. They deny the need for understanding just how other peoples are not just like you and me, and for what happens when colonial conflict—both cultural and political—erupts. Of course, if you

Homeless

Continued from page 3

But just as significant was the economic recession. Suddenly the homeless were not just drifters, drug abusers or alcoholics. Families, particularly single mothers and children, were showing up at emergency shelters. On the rung just above them, those who managed to hold on to jobs and homes were competing for a shrinking low-income housing supply. And the destruction of Single Room Occupancy (SRO) buildings, long the domain of the low-income elderly as well as the mentally ill, continued. Between 1970 and 1982, 47 percent of the nation's SROs were demolished or converted. In New York City the figure is an amazing 87 percent.

But if the chronically mentally ill are not the only homeless in the U.S., they are probably the most visible and easily the hardest to help. The APA report is hailed as a long-needed first step toward understanding what has forced the mentally ill onto the streets and into shelters, and an important acknowledgement of deinstitutionalization's flaws.

What has caused concern in some quarters, however, is that the APA's critique of deinstitutionalization at times borders on condemnation, and has been read by some as a call for a return to dependence on asylums and hospitals to contain the nation's mentally ill. But that's not a fair reading. The report stresses early and often that the crisis of homelessness among the mentally ill is not "the result of deinstitutionalization per se, but rather of the way deinstitutionalization has been implemented," in the words of task force chair Dr. H. Richard Lamb.

But, that said, there are significant disagreements—even among the writers of the report—about how to implement community-based care and what the most

pressing needs of the homeless mentally ill are. The problem begins with the task force's primary recommendations: that survival needs—food, shelter and clothing—are to be met first, because "the chronically mentally ill have a right, equal to that of other groups, to these needs being met." The APA doesn't seem to recognize that in this country no one has a right to those provisions.

From there one sees the kinds of tensions that emerged last fall over Washington, D.C.'s Initiative 17, the right-to-shelter law, which divided the city's homeless advocacy community (see *In These Times*, Dec. 5, 1984). While leaders of the initiative drive argued that the city had to be forced to provide emergency shelter for the homeless, others who had worked with the same population argued that shelters were merely "warehousing" people, many of whom had mental problems and needed medical care, not just a meal and a bed. Although controversy over Initiative 17 leader Mitch Snyder and his Community for Non-Violence blurred the battle lines on the ballot measure, a split could be observed between pro-initiative shelter providers in the volunteer community, and social and medical professionals who advised holding out for a more comprehensive attack.

So when a Chicago shelter operator was asked about the notion that shelters are becoming "open asylums" for the nation's chronically mentally ill, as Ellen Bassuk contends, his response was predictably derisive: "Has she ever been in one?" Understandably, the shelter providers see themselves as the last refuge of a population that has been at best neglected, at worst mistreated by the psychiatric establishment. That establishment is only beginning to accept some of the blame.

"I think we have been guilty of trying to fit square pegs into round holes, of developing programs that didn't meet people's needs," says Dr. Irene Shiffren-Levine, coordinator of the National Insti-

tute of Mental Health (NIMH) Program for the Homeless Mentally Ill. The best hope is that the psychiatric establishment will learn from the successes of shelter providers in reaching a population that has eluded them.

"Mentally ill homeless people go to shelters repeatedly, because the anonymity, the lack of control is appealing," notes Bassuk. "The hope is that smart planners will look at shelters and see what they do well." Model programs cited by the APA report are those that coordinate city and county mental health services with the volunteer shelter network, which requires a flexible, innovative approach to reaching and relating to the mentally ill homeless.

"You have to develop a relationship with these people. You have to develop participatory programs. You have to go out and reach them where they are," says Phyllis Lawrence, director of Washington, D.C.'s, office of Mental Health Support Services for the Homeless, a respected if under-financed model project.

"Mental health professionals don't like to hear this, but we haven't done a very good job with this population," she continues. "They're scared, introverted and isolated. They don't keep appointments. It takes a while to link them to a doctor, then to longer-term housing."

Legal frontiers.

Probably the group most wary about the APA report and other initiatives on the homeless mentally ill is the legal community. The APA task force is critical of the civil liberties emphasis of mental health litigation of the '60s and '70s, charging that tougher laws on commitment and the right to refuse treatment "neglected patients' right to high-quality, comprehensive outpatient care."

Not surprisingly, mental health lawyers reject the charge. Arlene Kanter of the Mental Health Law Project (MHL) argues that patients' rights laws are being scapegoated. Most states still allow involuntary commitment of individuals judged mentally "gravely disabled," she notes, but those patients are eventually released onto the streets again, where no care and no place to live await them.

Yet Kanter and other legal advocates agree with the APA on at least one point. The next frontier in legal advocacy for the mentally ill is forcing states and the federal government to provide care to the mentally disabled who will no longer be served in hospitals. The landmark lawsuit *Dixon vs. Weinsberger* brought by the MHL established that the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), when emptying Washington, D.C.'s St. Elizabeths Hospital, had to develop a plan to provide mental health care in the "least restrictive setting." Other suits followed *Dixon*, and some state legislatures have already adopted its community care guidelines as law. A New York lawsuit seeks to establish housing as a basic right of treatment for the indigent mentally ill.

The biggest obstacle to implementing even the best recommendations for the homeless mentally ill is, of course, funding. Fortunately, that's also the most effective barrier preventing the pendulum of mental health reform from swinging back to an institutional model. Caring for a state mental hospital patient costs between \$30,000 and \$50,000 annually; community residences average under \$20,000; SSI benefits range from \$3,500 to \$5,000. The economies are obvious.

There has been a surge of federal interest in the homeless. They are too visible a failure of Reagan's economic program to be ignored. The homeless mentally ill have come in for a lot of attention in HHS task force and congressional hearings. Outrage over their plight was a key reason the purge of SSI eligibility rolls was halted last election year. But the interest is not translating into increased funding.

"New programs are going to be a matter of paper and policy. The dollars aren't going to change," says Lawrence. The

most innovative funding initiative has been from the private sector. The Robert Wood Johnson foundation has divided a \$25 million grant among 18 cities to establish model health care programs for the homeless, and mental health care will be a significant component. By comparison, NIMH will split \$500,000 among four to six cities to develop mental health models for the homeless.

John Ambrose of the National Mental Health Association says despite the new concern about the mentally ill homeless, in meetings with HHS officials and Congress members "the theme is consistent: there's not going to be substantially more money." For him, the bottom line of the APA report, which he terms "superb," is that "there are homeless mentally ill people because community care has never been given a chance to work." He's not optimistic that the situation will change any time soon.

In the meantime, Kim Hopper of New York's Community Service Society believes the APA must push to meet the basic subsistence needs of the homeless mentally ill. Hopper contributed to the APA report, and his studies of New York's homeless are cited throughout it.

"Homelessness is just a way that mental illness is showing itself today," he notes, and he worries that the attention to the homeless mentally ill only exacerbates the national tendency to make divisions between the "deserving and undeserving poor."

"It's easier to read their inability to find housing and help as their personal problem, rather than a social failure."

CFDT

Continued from page 9

For the CGT, the collapse of the accord was the first political victory in a long time. The CGT may now hope to attract more attention to its own modernization proposals.

The CFDT is a shambles. Since its great outburst of solidarity with Polish Solidarity in 1981 and 1982, it has dropped its earlier references to socialism and *auto-gestion* and moved discreetly back toward its historic origins in Catholic social thought. More and more, the CFDT resembles a Christian Democratic union, rejecting class struggle in the search for social solidarity among workers and employers.

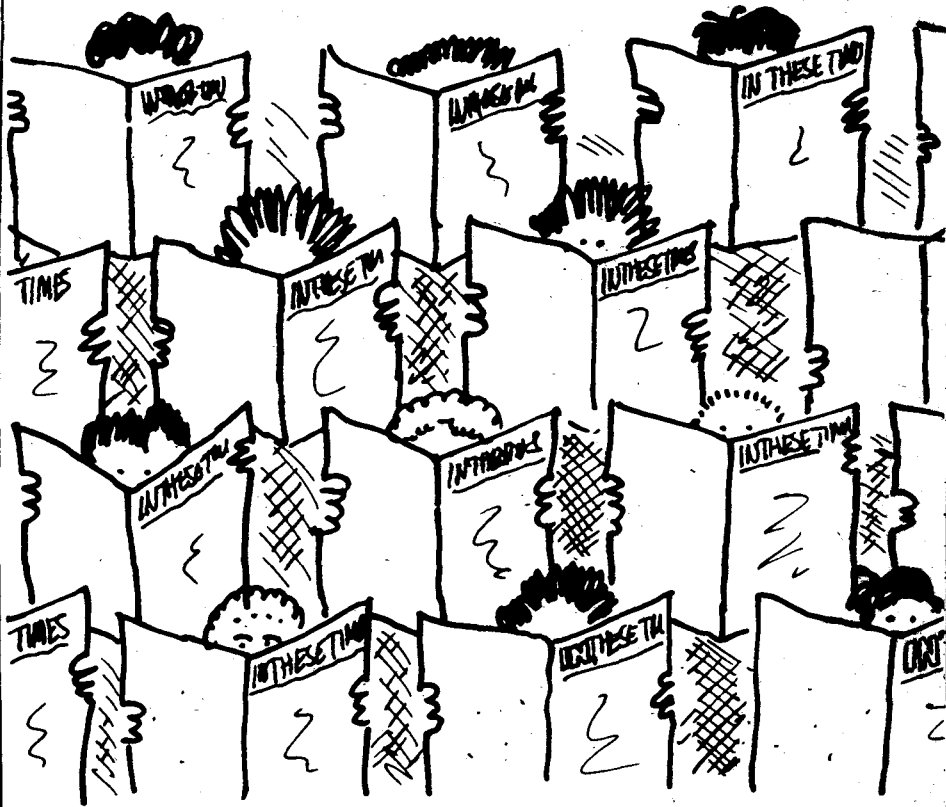
The fundamental weakness of the CFDT's modernism is that it has recognized the purely capitalist mechanisms of competition as the driving force behind change, hoping that this will turn out for the general good, but proposing no alternative social purpose as driving force behind technological transformation. Thus the rejected accord's opening section on "technological mutations" stated that "technical progress and competition" were producing technological mutations, and that this "inevitable" movement "should also lead to higher qualification and better working and living conditions for personnel."

If competition is the unchallenged motor, then the union finds its own demands forever subordinated to the employers' own aggressive definition of what they need to be more competitive.

For a while, the CFDT was greatly appreciated among independent intellectuals for its openness to all new social movements. But it has limited its sphere of intervention to work conditions, without attempting to interfere in defining the purposes of production, other than profit and competition.

It has avoided posing the question: what should the economy be producing for the good of people and of the environment? To revive, the CFDT would need to broaden its vision to the social utility of production and work to help create a dynamic of social demand able to infuse human purpose into technological innovation.

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Peru

Continued from page 11

tended during the past four years.

Meanwhile, the atrocities on both sides have quickly escalated to match the severity of the current crisis in Central America. On Sendero's part, the attacks on police stations and state installations have expanded to throat-cuttings and assassinations of military and civilian officials, and to bombings of private-sector enterprises like the Bayer acrylic fiber plant and the Sheraton complex, both in Lima. Military policy, criticized in Amnesty International's 1983 report, "Peru: Torture and Extrajudicial Executions," has degenerated to a death squad mentality. The appearance of as many as 50 bodies at a time in gullies outside major villages—frequently with bullet wounds in the neck or mangled genitals or other body parts—has become common. Selected incidents such as the killing of six missionaries by the marine infantry in the vicinity of the village of Huanta, or the discovery of a dead and mutilated prominent peasant leader, Jesus Oropesa, just 24 hours after being detained by the civil guard in the Andamarca military barracks, have gone virtually uninvestigated by the government, the judiciary or the press. The attempt of a leading journalist from Lima's largest daily newspaper, *La Republica*, to investigate the missionaries' deaths led to his disappearance from marine headquarters in Huanta.

Political desperation.

Since its sound defeat in last November's nationwide municipal elections, Belaunde has been desperate to regain lost ground. While most evidence strongly implicates the military in the mass killings and mini-massacres, Belaunde has tried to dump the blame on Sendero. In turn, Accion Popular has consistently attempted to portray the guerrillas as products of external Communist agitators and a spillover from Peru's booming cocaine trade—a kind of "narcoterrorism."

The surprising victory of the United Left party at the municipal level in metropolitan Lima has also prompted Belaunde to draw as many connections as possible between Sendero and the United Left. This has been negated by Sendero's open hostility toward the elected Peruvian left. Earlier Sendero writings criticize the United Left party as traitors and "parliamentary cretins." A sizeable share of "people's executions" have targeted elected left-wing officials. Such was the case with Sendero's brutal slaying of the popular grassroots mayor of the central Andean town of Huancayo in July.

For a large part of its four-year democracy Peru has been in a self-declared state of emergency. Present local sentiment is one of horror over the pending "Salvadorization" of Peru, and the utter inability of the Belaunde regime to either wipe out Sendero or strike some sort of deal with the guerrillas.

Both sides are light years away from the kind of peace settlement reached between Colombian President Betancur and the coalition of various guerrilla forces in Colombia. For the time being, political analysts seem less concerned about who will win the presidential race this April than about whether there will be an election. ■

Carol Wise has written for The Nation and NACLA and spent 1982-83 working as a Fulbright in Peru.

Wright

Continued from page 24

the conservative worker ("Henry Dubb" to the Socialists, "Mr. Block" to the Wobblies) in his unending foolishness. The revolution seemed just around the corner and if not, human cussedness was to blame.

Communist cartoonists later on stressed the big, muscled proletarian. Even artists with considerable sophistication, such as William Gropper (with whom Fred worked on several publications in the later '40s) had a harsh, millenarian streak. They constantly damned the system to hell and also, perhaps, the people who went on believing

in it.

Fred was different, more relaxed and less abstract. By the early '50s, the great labor wars of a generation had been fought and lost. The class struggle continued, but in a lower key. Wright's cartoon world depicted bosses conspiring through industrial psychology, economic blackmail and sexual harassment to get more than the union contract provided. Male and female workers, blue-collar husbands, wives and children exchange wisecracks around the kitchen table and the television set trying to figure out what's going on. Meanwhile, automation stalks the industrial landscape, more powerful perhaps even than the employers. Idealists usually get stepped on. And yet life continues in the fools' paradise of so-called progress.

Fred never lost the touch for this subtle critique of civilization, and he almost never felt the compulsion to make his message didactic. Only the American military and

its client politicians could make him angry enough to lapse into a more tense leftwing-political style.

He wanted to do other projects besides his weekly strip, both animation (he produced two forgotten economics cartoons) and graphic story (he began an extended history of the industrial revolution), but he ran out of time. Still, Wright succeeded in creating an artistic archetype recognized from Canada to England to Italy to Eastern Europe to Australia, and strongly represented in the work of younger labor cartoonists.

According to one of the best of them, Mike Konopacki, Fred's lesson, once learned, could not be forgotten: politics may be in the saddle, but the drahorse underneath eats and sleeps and dreams, too. ■

Paul Buhle has just compiled Labor's Joke Book, which includes a "Fred Wright Gallery."

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REQUIEM FOR A LABOR CARTOONIST

By Paul Buhle

FRED WRIGHT, THE BEST KNOWN U.S. LABOR CARTOONIST OF THE LAST 30 YEARS, DIED DECEMBER 29. HE WAS A QUIET, OVERLY MODEST CRAFTSMAN WHO JOKINGLY REFERRED TO HIMSELF AS A HACK FOR SIMPLIFYING THE CARTOON STYLE THAT REVOLUTIONIZED THE FIELD. HE DEVOTED THOUSANDS OF FRAMES TO EXPLAINING THE COLD WAR'S CHILLING EFFECT UPON THE VITALITY OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT. BUT HE WILL BE BEST REMEMBERED FOR EXPLORING THE ORDINARINESS, THE DAILY FRUSTRATIONS AND FANTASIES, OF BLUE-COLLAR LIFE. PHYSICALLY SLIGHT, FRED EVEN LOOKED LIKE THE "LITTLE GUY" OF HIS DRAWINGS.

Wright traced his family background to many generations of British wheelwrights. Born in Derby, cradle of the industrial revolution, in 1907, he came over as an infant with his parents. His grandfather, who had designed King George V's famous railroad car but who worked as a "striper" in a U.S. auto plant, taught the young boy sketching.

Fred grew up more interested in jazz. He loved to reminisce, in later years about his musician days at New York clip joints. He attended the leftwing Art Students League as a hobby in the late '20s, indifferent to radical politics but grateful to study with famed illustrator Thomas Hart Benton. Only with the Depression and the eclipse of the saloon musicians' trade did he begin to wonder seriously about the future of capitalism.

He shipped out and rapidly became involved, in a very rank-and-file way, with the militant National Maritime Union. He recalled drawing his first cartoon for Local 802's newspaper, never thinking he might turn to artwork for a living. The fascist international threat, the trials of the young unions and probably the encouragement of his mates caused Fred to submit a few drawings to the national NMU organ, *The Pilot*.

During the war he continued anti-fascist artwork for an Army base newspaper and for the *Pilot*. From 1946 to 1949 he became a *Pilot* mainstay and a rising star of the postwar labor press. But unlike so many of his forgotten fellow labor cartoonists, he couldn't toe the new Cold War line of caricaturing "Commie rats" gnawing away at labor unity. He had no strong ideological convictions, he insisted to me in an interview; he simply could not continue his craft without being honest to his own experiences.

Fired personally by NMU President Joe Curran, Fred thought about shipping out again. Then *UE News* offered him a staff job at half the salary of his *Pilot* freelancing. It was an offer he couldn't refuse. He loved the *savoir faire* of radical labor leaders smiling in the face of decimating raids by the IUE and other unions.

According to labor historian David Montgomery, then a UE worker himself, unionists who never read any other part of the paper greedily turned to Fred's cartoons. He had found a home. And a career that began accidentally flowered into the most prolific and most influential labor cartooning in the nation.

Before Fred, the labor cartoon had emphasized politics and violent class struggle. Socialist and Wobbly cartoonists either depicted big-bellied bosses and suffering workers enacting social drama by the pat formulas, or caricatured

Continued on page 23

